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IMPEACHMENT.

SPEECH BY HON. THADDEUS STEVENS.

Mr. Stevens, who had a seat at the Clerk's desk, commenced to read his speech, but, after getting through his first sentence, he asked, on account of the weakness of his voice, that his speech might be read by the clerk. That privelege was granted, and the speech was read in clear, distinct and well-emphasized tones by Mr. McPherson.

Mr. Stevens said: "I agree with those gentlemen who have gone before me, that this is a grave subject, and should be gravely treated. It is important to the high official who is the subject of these charges, and it is important to a nation of forty millions of people now free, and rapidly increasing to hundreds of millions. The official character of the Chief Executive of this grand nation being thus involved, the charge, if falsely made, is a cruel wrong. If, on the other hand, the misdemeanors and usurpations charged against him are true, he is guilty of as atrocious attempts to usurp the liberty and destroy the happiness of this nation, as were ever perpetrated by the most detestable tyrant who ever opposed his fellow-men. Let us, therefore, discuss these questions in no partisan spirit, but with legal accuracy and impartial justice. The people desire no victim and they will endure no usurper. The charges, so far as I shall discuss them, are few and distinct. Andrew Johnson is charged with attempting to usurp the powers of other branches of the government; with attempting to obstruct and resist the execution of the law with misprision of bribery, and, in the open violation of laws, which declare his acts misdemeanors, and subject him to fine and imprisonment, and with removing from office the Secretary of War during the session of the Senate, without the advice or consent of the Senate, and with violation of the 6th section of the act entitled an act regulating the tenure of certain civil officers. There are other offenses charged in the papers referred to the committee, which I may consider by themselves. In order to sustain impeachment under our Constitution, I do not hold that it is necessary to prove that a crime is an indictable offence. I agree with the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania on the other side of the House, who holds this to be a purely political proceeding. It is intended for a remedy for malfeasance in office, and to prevent the continuance thereof. Beyond that it is not intended as a personal punishment for past offences, or for future example. Impeachment under our Constitution is very different from impeachment under the English law. The framers of our Constitution did not rely for safety upon the avenging dagger of a Brutus, but provided peaceful remedies which should prevent that necessity. England had two systems of jurisprudence; one for trial and punishment of common offenders, and one for trial of men in higher stations, whom it was found difficult to convict before the ordinary tribunals. This latter proceeding was by impeachment, or by "bills of attainder," generally practiced to punish malefactors. But the system soon degenerated into political and personal persecution, and men were tried, condemned and executed from malignant motives. Such was the condition of the English laws when our Constitution was framed, and the Convention determined to provide against the abuse of that high power, so that revenge and punishment should not be inflicted upon political and personal enemies. Hence, the whole punishment was made to consist in removal from office, and bills of attainder were wholly prohibited. We are to treat this question as wholly political, in which, if an officer of the government abuse his trust or attempt to pervert it to improper purposes, whatever be his motive, he becomes subject to impeachment and removal from office. The offence being indictable does not prevent impeachment, but is not necessary to sustain it. (See Story's Commentaries on the Constitution, Madison and others.) Such is the opinion of our elementary writers. Nor can any case of impeachment tried in this country be found where any attempt was made to prove the offence criminal and indictable. What, then, are the official misdemeanors of Andrew Johnson disclosed by the evidence? On the 2d day of March, 1867, Congress passed an act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain Civil Offices." Among other provisions it enacted that no officer who had been appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate should be removed from office without the consent of the Senate, and that if, during vacation, a suspension should be made for cause, such cause should be reported to the Senate within twenty days after their next meeting. If the Senate should deem the reason of the suspension sufficient, then the officer should be removed and another appointed in his stead. But if the Senate should refuse to concur with the President, and declare the reasons insufficient, then the officer suspended should forthwith resume the functions of his office, and the powers of the person performing its duties should cease. It is especially provided that the Secretary of War shall hold his office during the term of the President by whom he may have been appointed, and for one month thereafter, unless removed by and with the consent of the Senate, as aforesaid. On the 12th of August, 1867, during the recess of the Senate, the President removed the Secretary of War, whose term of office had not expired, requiring him to surrender the office, with the public property, and appointed Gen. U. S. Grant Secretary of War, *ad interim.* When Andrew Johnson assumed the office of President, he took the oath to obey the Constitution of the United States, and to take care that the laws should be faithfully executed. This was a solemn and enduring obligation. Nor can he plead exemption from it on account of his condition at the time when it was administered to him. An attempt to obstruct the execution of the law, not a mere omission amounting to negligence, which would have been a misdemeanor, but *a daring and bold conspiracy was attempted by him to induce the General of the Army to aid him in defeating the operation of this law, and when he had suspended the Secretary of War, he appointed Gen. Grant Secretary ad interim, with the avowed purpose of preventing the operation of that law, if the Senate should decide in favor of the Secretary; and he says that the General did enter into such a conspiracy to aid him in obstructing the return of the rejected Secretary, notwithstanding the Senate might decide in his favor.* This is denied by the General, and a question of veracity, rather angrily discussed, has arisen between them, and the gentlemen seem to think that that question is one of importance to the public. In this they are mistaken. Which is the man of truth and which is the man of falsehood is of no more public importance than if the dispute had occurred between two obscure individuals. If Andrew Johnson tells the truth, then he is guilty of a high official misdemeanor, for he shows his attempt to prevent the execution of the laws. If the General Commanding tells the truth, then the President is guilty of a high misdemeanor, for Gen. Grant declares the same thing of the President, denying only his own complicity. No argument can make this point plainer than the statement of the culprit. If he and the General told the truth, then he committed wilful perjury by refusing to take care the laws should be duly executed. To show the animus and guilty knowledge with which this law was violated, we have only to turn to the proceedings of the Senate, warning him of his illegal and void conduct, and then to consider that he has since persevered in attempting to enforce his illegal acts. Indeed, to show his utter disregard of the laws of his country, we have only to turn to his last annual message, in which he proclaimed to the public that the laws of Congress were unconstitutional, and not binding on the people. Who, after that, can say that such a man is fit to occupy the Executive Chair, whose duty it is to vindicate obedience to, and see that those very laws are faithfully obeyed? Then, the great beauty and remedial and preventive process is clearly demonstrated. He is dull and blind who cannot see its necessity, and the beneficial results and purposes of the trial by impeachment. By the 6th section of the act alluded to, it is provided that all removals, appointments, or, employments, made or exercised contrary to the provisions of this act or the making, sealing, countersigning, or issuing of any commission or letter of authority for or in respect to any such appointment or employment, shall be deemed, and are hereby declared to be high misdemeanors, and upon trial and conviction thereof, the person offending shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $10,000, or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both, said punishment in the discretion of the Court. Now, in defiance of this law, Andrew Johnson, on the 21st day of February, 1868, issued his commissionary letter of authority to Lorenzo B. Thomas, appointing him Secretary of War, *ad interim*, and commanding him to take possession of the Department of War, and to eject the present incumbent, E. M. Stanton, then in lawful possession of said office. Here, if this act stood alone, would be an undeniable official misdemeanor, not only misdemeanor *per se*, but declared to be so by the act itself, and the offender made indictable and punishable in a criminal proceeding. If Andrew Johnson escapes with bare removal from office, if he be not fined and incarcerated in the penitentiary afterward, under criminal proceedings, he may thank the weakness or clemency of Congress, and not his own innocence. We shall propose to prove on the trial that *Andrew Johnson was guilty of misprision of bribery, by offering to Gen. Grant, if he would unite with him in his lawless violence, to assume in his stead the penalties and to endure the imprisonment prescribed by the laws.* Bribery is one of the offences specifically enumerated for which the President may be impeached and removed from office. By the Constitution, Article 2, Section 2, the President has power to nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint all officers of the United States, whose appointments are not therein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law, and to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session. Nowhere, either in the Constitution, or by statute, has the President power to create a vacancy during the session of the Senate; and yet, on the 21st day of February, 1868, while the Senate was in session, he gave notice to the head of the War Department that he had been removed from office, and that his successor, *ad interim*, had been appointed. Here is a plain recorded violation of the Constitution, and laws, which, if it stood alone, would make every honest and intelligent man give his vote for impeachment. The President had persevered in his lawless course through a long series of unjustifiable acts. When the so-called Confederate States of America were conquered, and had lain down their arms, and surrendered their territory to the victorious Union, the government and final disposition of the conquered country belonged to Congress alone, according to every principle of the law of nations. Neither the Executive nor the Judiciary had any right to interfere with it, except so far as was necessary to control it by military rule, until the sovereign power of the nation had provided its civil administration. No power but Congress had any right to say whether ever, or when they should be admitted to the Union as States, and entitled to the privileges of the Constitution of the United States, and yet Andrew Johnson, with unblushing hardihood, undertook to rule them by his own power alone, to lead them into full communion with the Union, direct them what governments to enact, and what constitutions to adopt, and to send Representatives to Congress according to his instructions. When admonished by express act of Congress, more than once repeated, he disregarded the warning, and continued his lawless assumption. He is since known to have obstructed the re-establishment of those governments by the authority of Congress, and *has advised the inhabitants to resist the legislation of Congress.* In my judgment his conduct in regard to that transaction was a high-handed usurpation of power, which long ago ought to have brought him to impeachment and trial, and to have removed him from his position of great mischief. He has been lucky in thus far escaping through false logic and false law, but his then acts, which will, on the trial, be shown to be atrocious, are open *evidence of his wicked determination to subvert the laws of his country.* I trust that when we come to vote upon this question we shall remember that, although it is the duty of the President to see that the laws be executed, the sovereign power of the nation rests on Congress, who have been placed around the Executive as muniments to defend his rights, and, as watchmen, to enforce his obedience to the laws and the Constitution. *His oath is to obey the Constitution, and our duty is to compel him to do it*—all a tremendous obligation, heavier than was ever assumed by mortal rulers. We are to protect or to destroy the liberty and happiness of a mighty people, and to take care that they progress in civilization, and defend themselves against every kind of tyranny. As we deal with the first great political malefactor, so will be the result of our efforts to perpetuate the happiness and good government of the human race. The God of our fathers, who inspired them with the thought of universal freedom, will hold us responsible for the noble institutions which they projected, and expected us to carry out. This is not to be the temporary triumph of a political party, but is to endure in its consequence until this whole continent shall be filled with a free, untrammeled people, or shall be a nest of cowardly shrinking, slaves.

MORAL CAUSES FOR IMPEACHMENT.

From the New York Tribune.

The country cannot fail to see that Mr. Johnson is a man who cannot be measured by the ordinary moral tests. We do not honor a man for being a gentleman any more than we honor a lady for being virtuous. It is the duty of every man and woman so to live, that their lives may be pure and their names unspotted. It is the duty of every public man to leave a name in history that future generations may regard as an example. It will be in the mind of every Christian to-day, that there are a hundred reasons for impeachment, in the case of President Johnson, which will hold good in general esteem, if not in law. We all remember the scenes of his inauguration as Vice-President. He was elected to a high office. It was the triumph of an idea which was dear to the heart of every laboring man. He was the representative of a despised class. He had labored with his hands at one of the most unpretending of employments. He had no advantages of wealth, education, or social culture. At a time when most young men are about to leave college, full of the classics and mathematics, he was beginning to read. Surmounting these difficulties, he had risen from place to place until he was the second officer of the country. Every laboring man felt ennobled in the elevation, for it showed that, in free America, the highest stations were open to the humblest.

We do not repeat the history of that shameful day, when Mr. Johnson not only insulted his audience, but the class from which he sprung, and gave the enemies of labor the opportunity of saying: "Look at your representative workingman, your exalted plebian, your Senatorial tailor. This is what comes of your Democratic institutions! A boor is always a boor. The quality of governing exists only in the blue veins of gentlemen like us, who come from the loins of kings. This is what Democracy brings you." We condoned that offense. But men buried it deep in their hearts, and Americans, proud of their country, and, above all, proud of the name of an American gentleman, blushed when they remembered that a drunken Vice-President had shaken his fist in the faces of the embassadors of foreign countries, and taunted them with their noble birth. They thought of it even more keenly when Mr. Johnson went "swinging around the circle." The story of that dreadful journey has never been fully told. The name of a dead statesman was degraded. We have heard, in ruder civilizations, of a people reveling around a coffin, and boisterously carousing over the dead body of a departed friend. But it remained for a President of the United States to dig from the grave, as it were, the body of the dead Douglas, and go junketing with it through the country. There may have been a hope, that the memory of the great leader would bring followers to his cause; but, be that as it may, the dishonor put upon his memory, and upon the country, was humiliating. We saw the President bandying words with a mob in Cleveland, defending riot and murder in St. Louis, and making wild, incoherent speeches at every station. Men have told us that they read accounts of this journey, in foreign lands, with crimsoned cheeks, and tearful eyes, and hearts heavy with shame, and that they almost blushed at the name of an American citizen. Andrew Johnson is the first Chief Magistrate of the country that ever disgraced his office by conduct unbecoming a gentleman.

Men will not fail to remember these things when the events of to-day are written in history. There are moral reasons for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. Children will ask their parents what became of the man who thus dishonored his country, and the reply will be, He was driven from his office to obscurity, and was never afterward heard of beyond the tap-rooms of Greenville, where he lived to a green old age, making endless speeches about the Constitution and the Radicals, and what he would do when he was re-elected President of the United States. We owe something to the spirit of Christianity, to the moral law which every gentleman tries to obey and to teach to his children. The impeachment of Andrew Johnson will not merely be commended because he tried to evade the law, but because he degraded his high office, and brought his country to shame, and made it a scandal among the nations. Therefore, the moral sense of the country demands this impeachment. Congress should feel that every gentleman, that every Christian mother who has sons that she would see honored, that every American who is proud of his country, will stand by it in this solemn but unavoidable duty. There are moral laws as well as civil laws. While the tribunal of one is the present and palpable machinery of justice, the tribunal of the other is in the conscience and heart of all. Now that Andrew Johnson is about to appear before the civil law, to answer for his misdemeanors, it is well to remember that, morally, he was long since tried by the common-sense of his countrymen, and condemned to the execration of the party which he betrayed, and to the contempt of that other party upon which he is now fawning.

THE PRESS.

The *Tribune*, though late in espousing the cause of Impeachment, has spoken very bravely during the crisis, since the decisive action of the House. In an article entitled

IMPEACHMENT IS PEACE,

it argues the question as follows:

Impeachment is peace. The thousand rumors of war are of no more consequence than the snow-flakes which darken the air. We shall have no fighting. Here, in New York, some of our Five Points denizens, deep in their cups, and fresh from the last prize-fight, are threatening to go to Washington and assist the President in dispersing Congress. We have certain heroes of the July riots—the murderers of fugitive negroes, and the burners of orphan asylums—who would be delighted to aid the President in sacking the Sub-Treasury. We have seen no one really anxious to fight but Mr. Brooks, and no one really expecting a fight but Mr. Raymond. The Wall street people are quick to scent trouble. Money is the first influence to feel a panic. Yet Wall street maintains surprising equanimity. Amid the agitation of the last five days, gold has merely ranged from 140 to 143. The danger of war, therefore, has the mercantile value of three per cent.! This is the feeling among the moneyed classes. If we were at liberty to print assurances which have come to the editor of this paper, it would be seen that the wealthiest, the most conservative, the most timid of our citizens, are strenuously in favor of impeachment. Men who control millions, and whose interests are widely spread over land and sea, unite with us in the prayer that Congress may speedily give us peace, by removing an unfaithful President.

Impeachment is reconstruction. A large part of the Union is in a condition of anarchy and unrest. The plow rests in the furrow, the hammer rusts on the anvil, loyal men steal through highway and forest like thieves in the night, rebels triumphantly defy the law. There is no safety in the South, no security of property, no assurance of personal liberty. There is nothing active but the sheriff and the provost-marshal. Lands are shrinking in value. The owners have no money to cultivate them, and people who have money, and who would gladly go into the South, and make its dreary and forsaken fields to blossom like the rose, do not care to accept the enmity that awaits them, social ostracism, military law, the sharp and quick rifle-shot of an ambushed murderer. No one cares to be a party to another Memphis and New Orleans massacre, especially when he finds assassination applauded by the President. The South wants money, men, order, reconstruction. Thus far she has been the victim of Presidential caprice and of restless demagogism. Take Alabama, for instance. But for Mr. Johnson, Alabama would now be in the Union, side by side with Maine and Illinois, with loyal men in office, the wheels of government moving smoothly, the courts in session, and every incentive to capital and industry. Yet now, by the direct and persistent interference of the President, Alabama verges upon anarchy. The rebel looks to the President for help, and wars upon the loyalist; the loyalist resists the interference, and leans upon Congress. The struggle of war is continued in peace—the strife of the bullet is succeeded by the strife of the ballot. Impeachment will end this. The rebel will see that nothing is left but obedience, the States will be brought back to the Union, and loyal men will be confirmed in their rights by the power of the United States.

Impeachment is the supremacy of the law. Heretofore the laws have been executed in a purposeless, fugitive, petulant way, without heart or sympathy. The President has enforced some of them to the letter, while he has broken them in the spirit. Whenever a soldier like Sheridan, or Sickles, or Pope really attempted to do what Congress desired, he was stricken down as an enemy, driven disgracefully from employment, and, as in the case of Sickles, robbed of the stars which he won by his blood. Soldiers like Hancock were deputed to enforce laws they despised, and their ambition tempted by eulogies and brevets, and prospective nominations for the Presidency. Reconstruction was thus made to drag, and lag, and halt, until men grew weary and sick, and despaired of any true settlement. The worst passions were fanned into a hateful flame, and when the President was not vehemently urging the execution of Sumner, and Phillips, and Stevens, and defending the massacre of harmless negroes, his organs, like the *National Intelligencer*, were filled with indecent denunciations of the truest and the purest of our statesmen. To crown it all, we had an assumption, which would be a tyranny even in despotic France, that no law was binding unless the President was directed to execute it by the Supreme Court. The Constitution was stricken down—for while the Constitution limited the President's optional jurisdiction over the law to the veto power, and made final execution mandatory, he contended that he had the veto and judicial powers combined. There will be an end of that fallacy; and from this time, through all time, Presidents of the United States will be taught that when two-thirds of the House and Senate agree upon a law, their duty is to execute it until restrained by the Supreme Court.

Impeachment means the triumph of republican institutions. Republican government has stood many cruel tests. It has sustained slavery and destroyed slavery; it has warred upon foreign governments, and suppressed domestic insurrection; it has passed through the mightiest war of modern times, and survived a social revolution; it has answered every form of government, and now it proposes to depose a treacherous Chief Magistrate. France removed her tyrants by a bloody and maddening revolution only to see new-born liberty torn from her embrace, and stifled by the gaudy and dazzling despotism of an empire. England only succeeded in destroying the tyranny of the Stuarts by revolutions which brought with them wars, and social turmoils, and rebellions repeated by three generations. Mexico has seen twenty revolutions and enervating wars, commerce destroyed, industry paralyzed, traitors in council, thieves in office, banditti on the highway, and, finally, a foreign army on her shores, a foreign prince in her palace, her noblest sons massacred and in exile. Freedom still remains an experiment with her. Free America will show the world that, by the gentle operation of law, her chosen Chief Magistrate, and the Commander-in-Chief of her armies and navies, can be speedily punished for his crimes, and reduced to obscurity, and no appreciable effect on society but a few tavern loungers' gasconade, and an advance of three per cent. in gold! America was noble in her management of the war, and the nations stood in wonder. But there is something sublime in her acceptance of impeachment. Men will say no more that republican institutions are a failure, for republican America, answering every condition, and accepting every responsibility of government, stands to-day proud, secure, peaceful—the law supreme, and the public virtue unimpaired.

Therefore, it is wise to say that impeachment is peace. Some of our people may rave, and swear, and gnash their teeth; but we shall have no war, no disturbance, no arresting the wheels of Government, not the shimmer of a bayonet, nor the click of the trigger, nothing but the ordinary town constable, with his clumsy baton. There is something grand to us in this spectacle of a great nation changing an incompetent ruler by the gentle and easy process of law. The poor little three per cent. that the gold gamblers have made will melt like the falling snow. Impeachment is peace, because the common sense and the loyalty of the nation demand it.

The *Journal of Commerce* pleads for a "sober second thought," and hopes Mr. Johnson's official head may thereby be saved. Writing of

IMPEACHMENT,

its editor says:

The first act in the new drama is completed, and as soon as the scene can be shifted and the costumes arranged, the curtain will rise again upon the trial of the President before the Senate of the United States, with the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court in the presiding chair.

As a politician, the President made a grievous mistake in the measure which has furnished the excuse for this grave proceeding; but the avidity with which the occasion was seized, must show to every candid observer, that he could not by the most circumspect action have avoided the ultimate conflict. It cannot be disguised that the contest is purely partisan and political. Upon his side, there is abundant evidence that he led the new attack upon Stanton for other purposes than a hearty desire to promote the public welfare; and that measured by any standard which may be applied to it, his action was ill-timed and inconsiderate. Upon the side of his opponents there is overwhelming evidence that the assumed charge against him of violating the law in removing Stanton, is a pretext for displacing the President and obtaining entire control of the government for purposes connected with the coming elections.

There are true patriots who sympathize with the President, and look upon him as a martyr suffering persecution in defence of the Constitution. There are, on the other side, many sincere men who really believe in the President's dishonesty, and regard him as the only obstacle to the restoration of peace and unity throughout the land. The mass, however, of the active partisans on either side are bent only upon playing out their game for political ascendency in the government during the next four years.

Looked at in this light, both moves were a sad mistake. The President's game would have greatly impaired his influence with the people, if it had been met in a becoming spirit. Technically speaking, he is undoubtedly right in asserting his power to remove this obnoxious Secretary. But if Stanton had given way, and Thomas, who has displayed anything but marked ability, been allowed to assume the control of the War Department, the position of the Radicals, as a party, must have been materially strengthened, while nothing would have been lost, except the opportunity to resort to desperate measures. The President made his movement without consulting with a single prominent conservative citizen throughout the country; without the knowledge of a member of the Senate, even of those who have stood by him most faithfully; and, as we have reason to believe, without due consultation with the members of his own Cabinet. So far, taking account only of his political wisdom, he was in the wrong, and, if left to reap the consequences of his mistake, he must have damaged his cause and lessened his influence with the people.

But his opponents, in charging such a political blunder as a high crime and misdemeanor, and urging forward in hot haste an attempt to remove him from office, have made a mistake that will do more than any thing else could to restore the lost prestige to their victim, and will prove fatal, if we mistake not, to their own hopes of success at the polls. They will array against themselves all the conservative influence of the whole country. They have been charged by their bitterest foes with the possession of no worse spirit than they are now betraying, and this high-handed attempt to seize upon the reins of government for partisan ends, will prove to every intelligent observer how unfit they are to be trusted with legitimate authority. The moment the first excitement of their success is over, they will feel the effect of the reaction which is sure to come. The pretext under which they are acting is too flimsy to cover their real designs. The further they push their triumph by such extreme measures, the greater and more disastrous will be their fall when the day of reckoning comes.

There is still room for the influence of a sober second thought, and it rests not merely with the Senate, but with the shrewd supporters of the Republican party all over the country, to set themselves against this blind fury, which, if left unrestrained, is sure to overleap itself to its own destruction and the serious injury of every material interest throughout the land.

The *World*, of course, opposes impeachment. It endeavors to constantly discriminate between the President and the man in office, and gives Johnson the cold shoulder. Of

THE EFFRONTERY OF IMPEACHMENT

it says:

The monstrous effrontery of the impeachers is past all patience as it is past all parallel. Last March Congress openly usurped the President's exclusive, indivisible right to remove public officers. That usurpation was the Tenure-of-Office act, so called. It was vetoed and passed over the veto, and thus stands to-day on the statute books. But it is an open, flagrant usurpation of executive power none the less for being, and just because it is, an enactment of the Rump.

What has President Johnson done? He has sought to question this usurpation before the courts. He has sought to preserve unimpaired the Executive authority, undivided and unshared the Executive right of removal.

Is that a crime? It was his sworn duty.

The Tenure-of-Office act reversed the practice of the government through every administration; flouted the uniform Executive exercise of the right of removal. The legislative decision upon the indivisibility of that right made by a Congress which was not a Rump,—the first Congress, and the Supreme Court's recognition of that right. It was scandalous and sheer usurpation. Into the enactment was put a clause to prevent the usurpation from being declared such by the Supreme Court, a clause to prevent the President from undertaking to bring it before the courts for judgment, namely, the sixth section, with its sanctions of fine and imprisonment. But none the less was it usurpation just as outrageous as an enactment would be that every President entering the White House should pluck out an eye and cut off a hand and lay them on the table of the Rump. Would a President incur impeachment justly for keeping his eye and his hand? Has President Johnson deserved it for preserving the hand and the eye of his executive authority, his power to discern unfaithful servants of the law and to remove them,—he, by the will of the people, the sole fountain of executive authority—he the sworn preserver, protector and defender of the Constitution of the United States?

Whence otherwise could resistance to such usurpation come? Was it forever to pass unchallenged? Was he to transmit an impaired authority to his successor? Was he to consent to the curtailment of what he was set to preserve? If the Tenure-of-Office act was usurpation, was indeed unconstitutional, only by his resistance, by his questioning could it be expunged from the statute books; if the right of removal was indeed by the Constitution vested indivisibly in him, only by his exercise of the right thus attempted to be usurped could its integrity be maintained.

The sole deniers of this vested right are the usurpers of the Rump. Its asserters are every President since Washington, every Judge since Jay, every Congress since that which contained the founders of the Republic, the framers of its Constitution.

And now these traitors, usurpers and revolutionists of the Rump who fortified their usurpation with an abattis of fines and imprisonments; these thieves of power not belonging to them, power which they sought to keep in their possession by threats to its rightful owner if he ever dared attempt its recovery; "these cutpurses of the Empire and the rule" Now with stupendous and amazing effrontery "impeach," forsooth, that rightful owner as he approaches to cite them before the judgment seat, as he stands to preserve, protect and defend his own, and the SupremeLaw of the People!

SPIRIT OF NORTHERN DEMOCRACY.

A WISCONSIN COPPERHEAD PAPER URGES THE SOUTH TO RENEW THE REBELLION.

We republish the following editorial from last week's La Crosse *Democrat*, a leading Democratic organ of Wisconsin, in order that loyal and good men, who have the best interests of the country at heart, may see to what that party is tending:

LET THE SOUTH ORGANIZE.

We are pleased to see movements commenced for Democratic organization in the South. It is important that this should be done early and well. Every Southern State should be fully represented in the Democratic National convention by its soundest and truest men. Send no Orrs, Joe Browns, or other weak-kneed and recreant Southerners—men who were embarrassing the Confederate government and plotting its overthrow throughout the late tremendous struggle for Southern rights and constitutional liberty against the Puritan crusade for the subjection of white men in the South to negro and mongrel supremacy, and who, since the triumph of the Federal arms, in part by the aid of their machinations, have voluntarily placed themselves on a level with negroes, and not only that, but have sought to impose upon their white neighbors the same degradation.

This contest is to be waged upon principle, and our standard-bearers must be men of principle, sound in the faith.

Send, as delegates from the South, men who can be depended upon—who know the true men of the North and will stand by them.

Let not the votes of the Southern delegates be cast for men, who through either cowardice, venality, or lack of principle, aided and abetted the most gigantic wrong of modern days.

Men of the South: be true to them who have been true to you, when it involved peril of personal violence, destruction of property, unlawful imprisonment, and even death itself by mob-law or illegal military commissions.

Set aside all policy men who barter principle for safety or office; for they have failed you in the past, and they will betray you in the future.

The surest way for you and us to win, is to put in nomination the boldest and most radical Democrats who can be found.

The people are groaning under mongrel rule. They want a change. The change they want is one that will bring them relief. It must be radical, though unsparing—one that cuts deep into the heart of the great questions that are agitating the public mind. They want to stop at no half-way house, between mongrelism and genuine Democracy.

We want men for President and Vice-President who have nerve, pluck, military spirit, and daring! who, if they receive a majority of the white votes of the United States, including yours, men of the South, will march to Washington at the head of, and backed by, the white men of America, and take their seats, and re-inaugurate the white men's government, in spite of man or devils.

They will go "either with their shields or upon them!" Dead or alive, they must go, borne, if need be, by a million armed men.

And whatever may be the progress or condition of mongrel reconstruction—let your States be organized into black States, or stand as they do now, in a state of political chaos—you, men of the South, must record your votes, and they must be counted, and as that vote shall show, together with the votes cast by the white men of the North, a majority for or against our candidates, so shall the result be declared, and so shall it stand and be carried out!

If this brings bloodshed, then let blood flow!

If this carries war into the manufacturing districts and commercial cities of the North; if the torch which has blazed through the South, leaving nothing but desolate hearthstones and blackened ruins, visits the grand structures and costly machinery of Lowell and Lawrence, built by the poor man's sweat, and made prosperous by tribute wrung from the poor man's hard earnings, and levels with the dust the proud and boasted palaces of Stewart and others, who arrogate the title of "Merchant Princes" in our land, then let the torch blaze and conflagration run riot!

Let all this and more and worse come, if they will have it, so rather than acknowledge the just rights and yield to the rightful supremacy of the white men of America.

Let our candidates be pledged to this, and possess the supreme qualities of resolution and courage to carry the thing through, and triumph is certain.

Before such a spirit the mongrel cowards will quail and acknowledge defeat.

They would not dare to force on such an issue.

Then we say to the Democrats both North and South: Be firm! Be true!! Be brave!!! The destinies, the fate, the hopes of our white race are in your hands, and ye *can*, ye MUST, ye WILL, save, restore and re-establish it in power and supremacy in all this land.

White men settled this country—reclaimed it from the wilderness—established a structure of free government, unequaled in beauty and grandeur—grew into a great and prosperous people—lived in harmony and fraternal love and unity till the hissing serpent of mongrelism entered this great paradise of human freedom, and all was at once marred, and blackened, and rendered horrid and loathsome, as though it had been visited with worse than the plagues Egyptian.

It is for us to restore its beauty, recall its peaceful happiness, make glad its sore and troubled hearts, and kill the accursed serpent which has been the author of so much wrong, suffering and bereavement.

Then kill! and spare not!

Then strike! and let every blow cut deep into the heart of the monster.

Do this, and victory! victory!! shall be our watchword and reward.

SOUTHERN LAND GRANTS.

Hon. George W. Julian, in the House of Representatives, January 22d and 28th, on the bill to declare forfeited to the United States certain land grants to aid in the construction of certain Southern railroads, etc., made an able speech, from which we quote the following extracts. We have not space for the entire speech:

The second section is in the nature of an amendment to the Southern homestead law, and provides that in all cases where the original lines of survey have been obliterated, the Commissioner of the General Land Office may appoint a deputy surveyor, who shall retrace the lines of the original survey according to the field-notes of the surveys heretofore executed by the United States. This is rendered necessary by the fact that in many cases in the South men pretending to be surveyors, and to have authority as such, charge the poor claimant as high as twenty-five, thirty, and thirty-five dollars for the survey of eighty acres of land, there being no voucher of its accuracy when made, and no authenticity attaching to it.

The second section of the bill guards against that imposition in the manner I have stated, and I have framed it to meet many complaints from the South of imposition and fraud such as I have specified.

Mr. Speaker, having now briefly explained the two sections of the bill, I desire to urge one or two general considerations in support of its passage.

In the first place, I beg leave to repeat what I said here in December, as to the great and imperative need of homes throughout these States. It is true that under the Southern homestead law of June 21, 1866, a large belt of country is dedicated exclusively to homestead entry and settlement, all further sale of it being henceforward forbidden. But a very great proportion of this land is worthless for tillage, and failed to find purchasers prior to the war, even under the inducements supplied by the old graduation laws of Congress. It is manifestly inadequate to supply the demand of the millions in those regions for homes. Let me state a few instructive facts in support of my position. In 1850 Congress granted to the three States of Louisiana, Florida, and Arkansas twenty-six million acres of the best lands in those States under the name of "swamp and overflowed land," a large proportion being dry land, and among the very best in the nation. The lands thus granted to those States were bought up in vast tracts by Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Robert W. Johnson, of Arkansas, and other leading rebels, and to-day are held as a remorseless monopoly upon which the loyal and landless poor of these States may not set their feet.

Let me state another instructive fact—and I have it from the census tables, from the official reports of the General Land Office—namely, that in the five land States of the South there are fifty-two million acres of land held by speculators, from which, of course, the poor are totally excluded. In point of fact, more than two-thirds of the population of those States are landless, and if you exclude their towns and cities, not more than one person in fifteen of their agricultural population is a landholder. Fourteen-fifteenths of the people of an exclusively agricultural country, only one-tenth of which is improved, own no land, and are at the mercy of the graceless few who do own it. These are startling facts, and they invoke our early and earnest action.

Mr. Speaker, from these considerations it is seen at once how necessary it is that we should multiply the opportunities for acquiring homes in those States, and I repeat here what I said in this Hall five years ago, that the great want of this Southern country is small farms, thrifty tillage, free schools, closely associated communities, social independence, respect for honest labor, and equality of political rights, in the place of great plantations, widely scattered population, wasteful agriculture, social degradation, the decay of literature, contempt for honest labor, and a pampered aristocracy lording it over millions of the poor. Sir, on these general and pregnant grounds I ask that the House shall consider favorably the enactment of this bill.

* * * * * *

The fact is well known that in Texas, prior to the war, the Germans demonstrated the profitableness of raising cotton on tracts of only a few acres. Each farmer raised only so much as his family could take care of, and it was a better article and produced a better price in market than cotton raised on great plantations under the system of "gang labor." But I need not appeal to the experience of Texas, nor speak of cotton only. Every great political economist tells us that in France, where the policy of small farms has been tested, and in all those countries on the continent in which it has been thoroughly tried, the maximum of productiveness has been the result, while it invariably educates the cultivator, and promotes the virtues of temperance and frugality, and renders his calling respectable and attractive. Sir, the South needs a new dispensation, suited to the rule of free labor. Her system of wasteful tillage on great stretches of land by uneducated labor must pass away; and the attempt to preserve it will be as ruinous as the same experiment in the island of Jamaica after slavery had been abolished. Political economy promises no blessings and no rewards to those who disown common sense and the teachings of experience.

On these considerations, then, I ask that these lands of the South, wantonly committed to the keeping of these rebel corporations, shall be opened up to those who need it.

The aggregate grant of this land, as I have said, amounts to nearly five million acres. It consists of alternate sections along the lines of these roads for a distance of six miles on either side. By putting up the price of the even sections to $2 50 an acre, it has interdicted settlement on them, thus making a solid belt of twelve miles along the fertile valleys of the States in which they lie. By thus excluding this belt from all settlement and tillage, it necessarily has driven away from a considerable territory contiguous to that belt, settlements which else would have been made.

Why, sir, the prodigal legislation of Congress has, in this way, doomed to utter barrenness fifteen million acres of land, at a moderate calculation, which ought, at the earliest moment, to be restored to tillage in the form of homesteads for the poor.

I come now, Mr. Speaker, to consider a three-fold opposition which is made here to the bill in its present form.

The first is a memorial from New Orleans, praying a revival of the grant made to the New Orleans and Opelousas Railroad Company. This memorial has been placed on the desk of every member of the House, and it asks for an accounting with the company, and that the United States shall pay the company for the use and occupation of the road.

Mr. Speaker, my first remark respecting this memorial is, that Louisiana has not yet been born again into her proper practical constitutional relations to the Union; and I think that a child that is not yet born is rather too young to make railroads. Louisiana has no civil government to whom we could revive the grant. When she comes back into her proper status, through the gate-way that Congress has provided, with a loyal government, and her loyal people shall ask us to revive this grant, we shall be ready to consider the question. As chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, I pledge myself to deal with her with the same even-handed liberality which we have awarded in similar applications from the Northern States. But it is too soon for Louisiana to ask what she does in this memorial.

I remark, in the next place, that the leading petitioners on this memorial, during the war, were rebels of the very meanest description, and are so to-day. They cannot, therefore, come here with clean hands, and they have no right to ask for our help at present. And, as they have sent here a public memorial, with their names attached, I propose to do them the kindness of advertising their character as rebels, which I have taken some pains to ascertain. I will mention a number of the leading petitioners, who have been, and, I doubt not, still are, rebels:

"Pipe, Lepeyre & Bros., bankers; H. Doane, vice-president Factors' and Traders' Insurance Company; J. Madison Wells, ex-Governor of Louisiana; J. N. Lea, member of the bar; Alfred Moulton, president Home Insurance Company; T. A. Adams, president Board of Underwriters; Thomas Sloo, president Sun Mutual Insurance Company; George Jonas, president Canal Bank; Jules A. Blank, president Louisiana State Bank; E. Ridgney, president Atlantic Insurance Company; John Pemberton, president Merchants' Insurance Company; John J. Adams & Co., wholesale grocers; Henry Peychaud, president Hope Insurance Company; Slocum, Baldwin & Co., wholesale hardware; Stark, Stouffer & Co., wholesale hardware; Adam Griffin, State Treasurer; A. Carriene, president P. T. Citizens' Bank; C. Cammack, paying teller Citizens' Bank; A. Chaipella, president Union Insurance Company; E. J. Forestall, agent B. Bros. & Co.; W. H. Letchford & Co., wholesale dry goods; Smith, Newman & Co., bankers; W. Henderson, firm Henderson & Gaines; Gaines & Relf, wholesale crockery dealers; McStea & Value, wholesale dry goods; A. D. Grief &. Co., wholesale grocers."

These rebels come here to ask the revival of this grant from Congress, kindly submitting to this body the form of a bill which they desire us to pass, and which they have framed for us.

Now, sir, in order to show the real character of this application from the New Orleans and Opelousas Railroad Company and its friends, I ask the Clerk to read an extract from a letter which I have received from a very intelligent and worthy gentleman in New Orleans, whose high character was indorsed to me the other day by the editor of the New Orleans *Republican*, then in this city, and who

is personally known to some members of this House.

The Clerk read as follows:

"It will, perhaps, be of value to you to know something of the nature and quality of the land through which this road runs. On the map you will observe that from Opelousas the road runs north, bearing west to town three south, range one east, where it turns to the west, running north 70 deg. west, crossing the numerous little streams that form the Mermentean and Calcasieu rivers. The streams rise in a sandy ridge covered with pine timber, the land being of but little value. But along the base of this ridge is a belt of fertile land about twenty miles in width, through which the railroad is projected, and almost all of it is taken by this grant. As you descend these streams from this belt, the land becomes flat, with a white clay soil, entirely worthless for cultivation. On the Calcasieu river there is some pine timber that is valuable, but all the land of any value has been selected by the State as overflowed lands. Of the three million acres of government lands in this State, about nine hundred thousand acres are held by this grant, and I think I can safely say that there are not one hundred thousand acres of government land fit for cultivation outside of this grant. The confiscation of the State lands would open about half a million of acres of land to entry that could be made available for settlement for freedmen.

"I have written particularly in reference to the New Orleans, Opelousas, and Great Western Railroad, because the Vicksburg and Shreveport railroad, which is included in the same grant, has but an inconsiderable amount of good land within its limits. It seems to me very inconsistent for a Congress that talked of confiscating plantations for the benefit of freedmen, to give away the only available land to a company of speculators under the pretext that Northern capitalists are interested in it.

"It would, perhaps, be of no avail for me to detail to you the difficulties attending the settlement of freedmen on homesteads. Many poor people are living on these New Orleans and Opelousas railroad lands who were there before the passage of the original grant, but being ignorant of the course to pursue to secure their homes, they were thrown out of their pre-emption claims. Almost all these people have been throughout the war Union people, resisting secession and conscription often to death, flying to the swamps for protection, and when our army came through the country, eagerly gave valuable information, and many of them joined the army. I have placed some freedmen upon these lands, supposing that the limitation terminated the grant, and opened the land for entry. I consulted an attorney, who gave it as his opinion that the land was subject to entry, I think Congress will not, at least, refuse this act of justice to these people.

"The fact that Northern capitalists are interested in the the road, is no good reason for renewing the grant.

"It is the Northern capitalist as well as the Southern planter that the poor freedman has to contend against now. Under the present contract system, he is in a worse condition, in many instances, than when in slavery. He gets fifteen dollars a month, and one ration of five pounds of pork and one peck of meal per week. The planter sells him the food for his family, and at the end of the year the freedman is in debt. And, I assure you, it is not only the rebel planter that does this, but also the pretended Republican that comes here and rents the plantation. Working under the auspices of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (but without pay), I have spent a year's time, and about three thousand dollars, in efforts to get freedmen upon homesteads. I am free to say that the greatest and most effective opposition that I have met with has been, in part, from professed Union men, and those interested, directly or indirectly, in the planting interests, politicians, etc. And when I went to the residences of the *Republican*, supposing, of course, that they were interested in the welfare of the freedmen, I discovered that they were interested in the Opelousas railroad speculation, and opposed to giving the land to the freedmen, as they wished to speculate upon it. Officers of colored regiments would sometimes dissuade their men from going upon homesteads, and induce them to contract with planters, receiving for each man five dollars. The case is freedmen *vs.* capital."

Mr. JULIAN—Mr. Speaker, the character of that testimony corroborates what I said the other day respecting the need of homesteads in these regions. And especially the need of opening the lands now tied up in the hands of rebel corporation, so that the landless poor there may be enabled to acquire homes. In the concluding passage of the paper just read the case is properly presented as that of "the freedmen *vs.* capitalists;" and I hope this Congress will take the side of loyal and homeless poor in opposition to the capitalist, whether rebel or loyal, and whether in the North or the South. There are men in the North (and I have confessed it often) who believe that the "almighty dollar" is the only living and true God, and who have, in fact, as little sympathy with the poor and for humanity as the rebel planter himself. I stand opposed to both of these classes, and on the side of those who are struggling in their poverty and helplessness for homes and independence.

I need only add that the editor of the New Orleans *Republican*, who is referred to in the paper just read, informs me that this road will be built, whether we renew these grants of land or not. Under these circumstances, therefore, I ask that the men having it in charge shall build it, or, at least, that we shall not aid them now, at the expense of larger and far more important interests.

The State of Louisiana as a State of the Union and in the Union, is dead—constitutionally dead, and politically damned (laughter)—and she has no right to come here now and ask of us a revival of a land grant made to her in 1856. When she shall come here in her right mind, on the conditions prescribed by Congress, restored once more to her constitutional orbit as a State, and when the loyal element down there shall ask us, under proper restrictions, to renew the grant or make another, we shall probably consider their application. But we cannot do so now. In five or six weeks, it may be, the opportunity will come for the people of Louisiana to be heard.

* * * * * *

I ask the Clerk to read a letter I have just received from a gentleman of high character in Alabama, and well known to many members of this House personally. I mean Mr. Bingham, of Athens, Alabama, who died recently.

The Clerk read as follows:

"I am glad to see that you have reported a bill declaring the lands granted in 1856 to Southern railroads forfeited. These grants were the result of very injudicious legislation, because they gave away a very large part of the public domain to corporations, to be used as a monopoly, entirely disproportioned to the cost of the works these lands were to foster and encourage; and the events of the rebellion have demonstrated the wisdom of withholding them from these corporations, since they have not complied with the conditions of the grants, as all these corporations are under the control of men who have been thoroughly identified with the rebellion, and would use their roads to promote the interests of the party with which they sympathized and affiliated during the war. A strong effort was made by the rebel officials of these roads in Alabama to obtain the indorsement of the constitutional convention of this State to a memorial praying Congress to renew the grants, but it was defeated by a vote of some 50 to 20. To illustrate the impolicy of giving these lands away to railroads, I will cite a single case in this State. The north and south road connecting Decatur with Montgomery, which may be built at an average cost of $20,000 per mile, would receive over four hundred thousand acres of the best coal lands in the State, with a large amount of land containing iron ore equal in point of malleability to the ore of Pilot Knob, Missouri; and the control of this company is in the hands of the most uncompromising rebels in the State. When we get the State of Alabama back into the Union we shall ask aid of Congress to build this road, as it is the only remaining link to connect the Northwest, via Cincinnati and Louisville, with the Gulf of Mexico; but the aid we shall ask will be the bonds of the government instead of the land hertofore granted.

"At present the same dominant, diabolical spirit that prevailed during the rebellion still exists, and the masses are as much intimidated, as completely under the dominion of the slaveholding rebel influence, as they were during the war, for the reason that their weapon is now starvation, and the threat that if they vote for the ratification of the constitution they—the negroes—shall have no land to work nor employment. There has been the largest and most abundant crop made in Alabama this year, in proportion to the land under cultivation, I have ever seen in the State (and I have been here since 1853); and yet in the midst of plenty there will be great suffering unless Congress feeds and clothes the negro and poor whites through the winter. This state of things does not result from idleness or improvidence on the part of the laborer, but from the refusal of the employer to pay; and there is not a civil officer in the State who will enforce a claim in favor of a negro."

Mr. JULIAN—Mr. Speaker, it will be seen by this document, the statements of which I think cannot be contradicted, and will not be, that under these land grants more than four hundred thousand acres of valuable coal and iron lands are included, some of the latter being as rich as those of Pilot Knob, Missouri. I have before me a geological map of Alabama, showing the remarkable character and extent of these minerals. Under the act of Congress of 1856, no exception or reservation happened to be made of mineral lands, and the renewal of this grant in its present form might establish an immense monopoly in the hands of these corporations.

* * * * * *

G. W. Bungay tells the following story to the *Independent:*

Milton is a quiet little village, located at a point in Wisconsin where four railroads meet. A majority of the inhabitants are "Seventh Day Baptists," and one of their principal colleges crowns a hill not far from the railroad depot. The "Sabbatarians" (pardon me, if I make a mistake in the name) are Radicals in politics and reformers in morals. They were among the earliest advocates of abolition and temperance, and they never object to the opening of their churches and their college-halls to the champions of human rights. Consequently, they are among the best educated anti-slavery and anti-liquor men and women in the world. I will add, they appreciate talent wherever they find it, and are not blind to the star of genius when it shines through the midnight of the blackest skin. Among the most welcome visitors and speakers on their lecture-list is Sojourner Truth. Her courage, her common sense, her integrity, her originality, her natural eloquence attract large audiences, and give her great popularity among that class of people, in that neighborhood. A few months ago she lectured in the college-hall of Milton; and, as usual, made a most favorable impression. She was the guest of Mr. Goodrich, an out-and-out temperance man, and a noted hater of tobacco. Now, Sojourner, who does not intend to smoke hereafter, is given to smoking here; and the morning after the lecture she was puffing away with a long pipe in her mouth, when her host, Mr. Goodrich, approached her, and commenced conversation with the following interrogatory: "Aunt Sojourner, do you think you are a Christian?" "Yes, Brudder Goodrich, I speck I am." "Aunt Sojourner, do you believe in the Bible?" Yes, Brudder Goodrich, I bleeve the Scripters, though I can't read 'em as you can." "Aunt Sojourner, do you know that there is a passage in the Scriptures which declares that nothing unclean shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven?" "Yes, Brudder Goodrich, I have heerd tell of it." "Aunt Sojourner, do you believe it?" "Yes, Brudder Goodrich, I believe it." "Well, Aunt Sojourner, you smoke, and you cannot enter the Kingdom of heaven, because there is nothing so unclean as the breath of a smoker. What do you say to that?" "Why, Brudder Goodrich, I speck to leave my breff behind me when I go to heaven."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 7, 1868.

The National Anti-Slavery Standard

FOR 1868.

PREMIUMS.

We offer our friends what we are sure will be esteemed very liberal and welcome compensation for their efforts to add to our subscription list, namely: to old subscribers who renew their subscriptions and send one new subscriber for the year ($6); or to any who will send two new subscribers ($6) we will send either of the following very desirable books:

Wendell Phillips' "Speeches, Lectures and Letters." 564 pages, with steel portrait—price $2.50.

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IMPEACHMENT.

At last the Nation has been allowed to impeach the President. Over timid parties, scheming politicians, and reluctant Presidential candidates, the people have at last made their way, and carried out their purpose. The tone in which the Republican press hails this step, proves that it has hitherto been resisted solely on party grounds; that no man of any mark has doubted that Johnson deserved impeachment. That all these subterfuges have been swept away—schemes of candidates and plots of parties—and the Nation allowed its wish, is most convincing evidence of the utter supremacy of public opinion in this country. The act itself proves the sagacity and virtue of the masses. They feel—what party leaders will not see—the need of such an act to vindicate the national self-respect and its sense of justice. That a nation, just lifted to the sight and admiration of the world by the courage and sacrifices of this great war, and still greater revolution, should be delayed and foiled by this coarse, vulgar and third-rate usurper, is a sorry sight indeed. If self-interest could make politicians "eat the dirt," the people would not have it so. They have vindicated the self-respect of republican government, and proved its strength. Worn out with a wasteful war, suffering from financial difficulties, confronting one of the hardest and most perilous duties a government was ever called on to meet—Reconstruction—the Nation is still conscious of so much reserved strength that, at such a moment, it dares to arraign its Chief Magistrate. The act is not felt by either jar or jostle in any part of the whole machinery of government, such is the serene strength of our institutions. Resting like a pyramid on its broadest base, the government seems actually insensible to any shock of adverse circumstance. What upsets other states, passes by us unfelt—that gun at Sumter, two years of constant defeats, emancipation by war, Lincoln's death, and now arraigning, in the very thick of the storm, our President.

So much for the people; and now what of the politicians? We indulged great hope of the Senate after their vote, by such overwhelming majority, that removing Stanton was unconstitutional and illegal. But when they vote down, still more unanimously, Mr. Sumner's proposal to cease official intercourse with the criminal, we begin to doubt. How infinitely absurd that a man on trial for the gravest offences, charged upon him by a vote of nearly three to one in the House of Representatives, should still sit authorized to issue orders which Grant and Stanton must obey, and to nominate officers to foreign courts and home posts which the Senate must consider, or, in many cases, the public interests will suffer! The Senate has done many astounding things, but it never so completely stultified itself as in this instance. In the President's case, there are a hundred reasons why he should be suspended. Why should we not do a self-evident right, and thus make a Precedent for all such future trials? Evidently it can be only cowardice or half-heartedness in the Senate, and this makes us fear their future action. Two-thirds of the action of the Senate, specially for the last three years, show that the Chamber is filled by lawyers fed on calf-skin, and never daring to peer beyond the limits of a *nisi prius* decision, by greedy men using their place for profit, and by party plotters looking at every measure from the standpoint of their Presidential candidate's interest. We shall not be surprised, therefore, if Johnson is able to bribe or bully the Senate into an acquittal. To prevent this will need as stern and vigilant a popular purpose as that which has awed and braced the House of Representatives to action. The Senate should have suspended the President; then they might have been a hundred days, if they wished, in trying him. Now they leave him to permit murder at the South and plot at the North. Every Union life lost, and lost unavenged, at the South, henceforth is blood on the Senate's garments. Senators know Grant will never do his duty in protecting the Union men of the South. He has no drop of blood in his body that prompts him to do it. They know that while Johnson sits in the White House, it is a provocative and guarantee for every outrage on Union men. But they can now, at any moment, put a man there whose simple presence under that roof would make the streets of New Orleans and the plains of Texas—yes, and even Kentucky—safer for Union men than an army of a hundred thousand soldiers, led by Thomas or Sheridan, could do. The blood of every Union victim henceforth be on their heads! In the meantime, let us work to lift the Senate out of the slough of party self-seeking to the level of the House and the Nation.

I am not surprised to find that Grant is not as strong out here as in the East. Bondholders' patronage there has weakened him here. I have not seen, neither have I met any one who has seen, an *original* Grant man. Every Republican *prefers* some one else, but *submits* to Grant, since the wire-pullers will have it so. A wrong move on the finance question would push him from the track. And the difficulty in this quarter is so great, while the willingness for radical reconstruction is so perfect in the West, that I am more and more persuaded we can, as to the negro question, shape the party platform exactly as we wish it, *if we* are only *faithful*, and exact all that belongs to us. The next three months are our seed time. Let us be up and doing.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Cincinnati, Feb. 29, 1868.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in this city, at Steinway Hall, on Wednesday, May 13. Eminent and eloquent speakers, whose names will be hereafter announced, will address the meeting. Mr. Sigismond Lasar, whose generous and welcome services we have had on former occasions, will preside at the organ.

THE PROGRESS OF IMPEACHMENT.

In addition to the articles of Impeachment printed elsewhere, the seventh of which was stricken out by the House, two others have been adopted. One introduced by Gen. Butler arraigns the President for his "swinging circle" speeches; the other relates to the President's attempt to bribe Gen. Grant to violate the civil Tenure-of-Office Bill, as set forth in the Grant-Johnson correspondence. The Senate has adopted rules and regulations to proceed with the trial and duly notified the House. It is expected that to-day (Wednesday) the articles adopted by the House will be formally presented to the Senate. Chief Justice Chase will then be called upon to issue a summons for Andrew Johnson to appear before the Senate as a Court of Impeachment, at such time as may be designated by vote of the Senate, probably not later than Monday next. The Managers selected by the House are Messrs. Bingham (Chairman), Butler (Secretary and Clerk) Stevens, Boutwell, Logan, Wilson, of Iowa, and Williams of Pennsylvania.

Public interest will now be concentrated upon the Senate. Though the Copperhead and conservative journals try to make it appear otherwise, the general sentiment of the masses is unmistakably in sympathy with the impeachment of the treasonable Executive. The price of gold, as a thermometer of public feeling, has shown plainly enough since the House took the first decisive step, that in the view of capitalists and others, Impeachment is essential to bring a settled, peaceful and prosperous condition of affairs. We do not expect impeachment alone to do this. But impeachment is the nearest duty, and an indispensable step without which nothing else can be done effectively. We therefore look confidently to the Senate, to pronounce the verdict of guilty, which we know, in advance, the testimony defiantly furnished by the President himself, will warrant, and speedily to order his removal from the White House. To cut short his opportunity for mischief he ought to be at once suspended. Though the Senate can defer action upon his appointments until after the trials it proposes to do, he is still left in command of the Army and Navy while his trial is in progress, exposing the country without his suspension, to a risk of convulsion and turmoil which we hold to be inexcusable on the part of the Senate to allow.

We see it stated in various quarters that Chief Justice Chase is averse to having Johnson impeached, and that now, as he is known to have done hitherto, he is using his influence against it. We do not like to think that these statements at this time are in any way true. If the Chief Justice or any Senator shall allow personal or party ends to interfere and prevent the consummation of the Nation's purpose to defeat and punish the traitor of the White House, woe will be unto him!

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

A SOUTHERN man, who in 1831 graduated at a Northern College, and who has since been a warm participant in the rebellion, (in which three of his sons were slain), has lately chosen to renew correspondence with a Northern class-mate. He writes with great bitterness of the Radicals in Congress and elsewhere, and rehearses some of the difficulties in the present situation of Southern planters and farmers, closing with the inquiry what they are to do, and how they are to live. The following is part of the answer sent him. C. K. W.

One sentence in your letter struck me as very significant. Perhaps its concluding words, which I shall underscore, go far to explain and account for the troubles of which you complain. You say—"Negroes, especially of the class Freedmen, are perfectly worthless and unreliable as laborers, *under the system prevailing among us.*"—May it not be that very system which *makes* them unreliable? You can decide this question for yourself in a moment by making this supposition; suppose white laborers should come to you from the North, or the West, or from Germany or Scotland, and you should give them such pay, *and such treatment in all other respects*, as the freedmen now receive, would *they* make efficient and reliable laborers?

Throughout your letter, whenever the black man is mentioned, it is in a tone, and with epithets of contemptuous disparagement. You call him "Cuffee." You speak of his class as "the lazy negroes," and consider their right to vote in State and national affairs a "degradation" to you. If you use such language, and a demeanor corresponding to it, to the negroes themselves, does not this throw light upon the labor problem? If the Northern or Western men, the Germans or Scotchmen above supposed, on going to earn a living by labor in your State, shouldbe everywhere contemptuously treated as inferiors, and assailed with reproachful nicknames, and barred from practical citizenship, as far as the systematic efforts of their employers could accomplish it, would *they* be very industrious, or very "reliable?" Is it in human nature to be so? Remember that I am now speaking of the most effective means of obtaining diligent and faithful labor from those whom we employ. Will not friendliness necessarily go further with them than contemptuous treatment? Think of it.

Here in Boston, those colored people who *are* servants and laborers are *good* servants, *good* laborers. They are as industrious, as faithful, as reliable, as any class of men and women. I suppose the reason to be that they are well treated. They receive the fair market-price of labor, and civil treatment and just consideration in other respects. Why should this method not operate elsewhere as well as it does here? Has it ever been tried at all in your region? Is it not worth while to try it?

You speak of "the *lazy* negroes." But have negroes a monopoly of this particular quality? Turn your thoughts back to College days, and you will remember that your friend, the present writer, was ordinarily reputed to be "lazy," and with perfect justice. Did not a good many of us consult our ease rather than our work? Some worked hard, urged by ambition, or a sense of duty, or a love of knowledge; but with others of us, to our shame, none of these inducements prevailed. We were lazy, in spite of the call of duty, and the attractions and advantages of knowledge. These things being so, I, who was lazy without reason, cannot throw that epithet as a term of reproach against men of whom hard labor is required with *no* sufficient inducement. *I* would not work for one who insulted me in the act of hiring me. I would not work for a manifest enemy—one who represented the very act of labor as degrading—one who was making arangements with his neighbors that I should not vote at the polls, nor have a *respectable* seat in church with my family, nor send my children to school with *his* children, nor have a voice equally with my neighbors in all matters affecting the public welfare. And I scorn to demand of another what I would not do myself.

Look candidly at the facts in the case. Have these men, to whom as a class you impute laziness as a reproach, any such inducement to do hard, faithful, reliable work as would be effective with you and me, if work of that sort were in our line of business? Of course they look at their own interest, and it is right that they should do so. A bargain between workmen and employers should not be without profit to the former as well as to the latter. Now, candidly, is there anything very tempting, or attractive, or advantageous, in the terms which your neighbors offer to the freedmen for work? If the freedmen accepted such terms, would they and their families be *much* better off at the end of the year? And if not, is there anything strange in their declining such a bargain? In a case like this, I do not think the word laziness is precisely applicable.

Do you say, that the employers are themselves destitute, and without the power to offer liberal wages? Well, let us consider that difficulty.

As nobody likes to do hard work for nothing, it is plain that *some* inducement *must* be offered. If then money is wanting, let the inducement be given in another form. And it seems to me that your past relation to the people in question suggests a method of inducement even more acceptable to them than money; a method conformable alike to justice and expediency; a method which, I think, the better sort of people in the North would very promptly take in similar circumstances.

The method I propose is very simple in statement and very easy of comprehension. It is for the white people to treat the colored people, in all respects, *as genuine friendship would dictate.* By this I mean not at all the patronizing attitude of superiors to inferiors, but an aspect, a demeanor, a course of daily life, which the colored people themselves shall recognize as proceeding from friendship, good will, a hearty desire to make the best of the situation. Such a course would certainly, *must inevitably*, conciliate the colored people towards all those white people who adopt it. And why should it not be adopted by all? Both parties have misfortunes, disadvantages, sufferings and anxieties to endure; and in no way can these be so well removed as by friendly participation ot both in the work of removal.

If whites and blacks in equal numbers should be shipwrecked upon an uninhabited island, would the common welfare be best provided for by the former treating the latter as inferiors and subordinates, or by all sharing equally, and in a friendly spirit, the labors which the public good demanded? I judge by your account that your community *is* in a state of shipwreck; and it is certain that the necessary evils of such a state must be greatly aggravated by the purposed continuance of class distinctions and jealousies. If the class heretofore considered superior should *choose* to lay this distinction aside, and frankly say to the other—Let us give a fair trial to the new rule of equality before the law—would not the other class of course joyfully consent to the trial, and do the best they could to make it work well, and ensure its perpetuity?

Applying this rule to the case of employer and laborer, if the employer has not money to pay with, he must pay in kind, giving as wages a fair share of the product of labor; not merely enough to keep a working animal in working condition, but what the laborer can consider a fair remuneration, enabling *his* family to live not less than *your* family. Still better will the desired result be attained when employer and laborer can work *together*, sharing the same toil, and treating each other in a courteous and friendly manner, alike in work and rest. Whenever the white people begin to show this spirit, I am sure the colored people will not be wanting.

I speak not without experience in this matter. We have had a fair trial of this thing in Massachusetts. Every step was contested by the friends of class distinctions, and every step, on being gained, was found to be not only harmless, but salutary. Black people and white now ride together as equals in omnibusses, horse-cars and steam-cars; sit together in lecture-rooms, concert-rooms, some theatres, some churches; go together to the polls; sit together in the jury-box, the Committee-room, the seats of the House of Representatives; and go together to social parties of the highest respectability, if not to the most fashionable parties; and their children sit together in Sunday schools and day-schools, and join each other freely in sliding, skating, marbles and ball-playing. I myself have for many years been accustomed to meet colored people in the very best society, and to count some of them among my most valued friends; and I have long ceased to think it strange to have one sitting next me in church, or at a business meeting, or at an evening party. Why should such a state of things be feared among you?

One of the fears that you express seems to me to have no foundation in fact, nor even in probability. You say that you "cannot submit to the degradation of *negro ascendency;*" and you ask—"How would you like for Cuffee *to rule* you?"

Before proceeding to comment on these phrases, let me give you the *reasons* for the opinion I hold concerning the franchise. My opinion is nothing to you; but if the reasons for it are sound, they ought to influence you in the same direction.

My idea about voting rests on the "self-evident truth" stated in the Declaration of Independence, namely, that the just powers of government are derived from the "consent of the governed." This consent, in our system, is expressed by the vote of the whole people for officials to make the laws, and for other officials to execute the laws. I think all the people of ripe age, without distinction of sex, color or race, have this self-evident right to participate in the choice of the makers and executors of the laws under which they are to live. The government should be a government *of* the people, *by* the people and *for* the people, and this way of voting would make it such.

You inquire of me (I substitute an equivalent term for the nick-name) whether I would like to have the colored people rule me?

I reply—Certainly not, because there is no justice in setting one class over another. That has been my objection to our United States government in all the past years of our history, that it gave its sanction to a usurped power of the white race over the black race. Both races ought to share in choosing the functionaries who are to make and execute the laws for both. I object to all monarchies, all aristocracies, all oligarchies. The people, *all* the people, black, white and gray, male and female, have *a right* to join in the election of officers. I hold this right, as the Declaration says, to be "self-evident."

You object to "negro ascendency." Well, so do I. But I know of no such thing in this country, nor of any party or person that proposes such a thing. There are two colored members in our Massachusetts House of Representatives. But they do not rule me, apart from the rest of the House; and if they were two-thirds of the body, instead of two individuals, they would not rule me apart from the rest of the House. They are there because the people of Massachusetts wanted them, and chose them. I know no reason why they should not be there; and similarly, I know no reason why the actual population of any other State should not choose such Representatives and Senators as they wish. My decision of the case of South Carolina or Virginia follows the same rule as my decision for my own State. It is the right of the whole population of each State to choose officers *such as they wish* to represent them in the State, and in Congress: only insane people and criminals should be deprived of the power of voting.

Let us see now how this bears upon the pacification above suggested. Of course, every inhabitant of your State who is of ripe age, and is neither insane nor criminal, has *a right* to vote, it is plain that this is one of the things which both justice and expediency require to be promptly and heartily conceded by your white people to your colored people. What else could be so thorough and convincing a proof of your willingness to let bygones be bygones, and of your desire to make a full and a fair trial of the new experiment? How else could you so well show to yourselves what you ask of them, a willingness to unite in working for the common welfare. The change now needed in your State is for both parties to show this willingness. If the whites heartily make the offer, the blacks will heartily accept it; but it is for the class that has hitherto claimed superiority to begin.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION of this State has finally concluded its labors. The point which Copperhead Democrats have striven for they have gained, in a provision for the separate submission of the suffrage amendment. The question of the abolition of the property qualification for colored voters will therefore go before the people as a special issue, against which the heavy Copperhead vote of this city will be solidly cast. This vote will be augmented by that of the Democracy, and of the conscienceless "Conservative" Republicans throughout the State. We think it not unlikely, therefore, that, as it can now be done without defeating the rest of the Constitution, the article which abolishes the property qualification for colored men will be defeated. The strength of the prejudice against color, even among Republicans, is still an immense force to contend against. The colored people of the State, and their friends, should labor unremittingly, and if possible, avoid a defeat. We call upon clergymen and the conductors of the religious press to include in their teaching so much of the right sort of "politics" as will make their influence potential for the abolition of all political distinction on account of color in this State, for which the new constitution provides.

We sincerely regret that, whatever the result before the electors might have been, the Convention refused to present an amendment abolishing also the distinction of sex as a qualification for voting. If, as we repeatedly urged, the women of the State had generally called for such a measure, it would undoubtedly have received favorable consideration in the Convention, and a large, if not a majority, vote, from the electors. The eloquent speech of George William Curtis and the few votes (all but two of the nineteen given by Republicans, we believe), in the Convention in behalf of equal suffrage for women, will count as an important substantial gain in future efforts to the same end. The measure is delayed, but not defeated.

THE Boston *Christian Register*, a well-edited, dignified and courteous Unitarian journal, we observe, reprints our reproof of the *Liberal Christian* of this city, for its *Heraldish* notice of the recent Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. The *Liberal Christian* responds in an article replete with coarse and petulant flings at THE STANDARD and Mr. Phillips in particular, and at Abolitionists in general. Upon these we do not care to comment. In its own justification it unwittingly concedes our main point, that it is a "great question of to-day" to seek the elevation of the colored people, and to establish what has not yet been achieved, their equal rights before the law. This, as we before affirmed, is the present aim, and has been, for thirty years, a constitutionally declared object of the Anti-Slavery Society, which, according to the *Liberal Christian*, has "no right to be." We congratulate the *Liberal Christian* upon its newly-avowed purpose to follow in our footsteps also, even at this late day, in the advocacy of equal rights for women.

A LARGE and enthusiastic meeting in favor of impeachment was held in this city on Tuesday evening last, under the auspices of the Union Republican Campaign Club, of which the HON. CHARLES S. SPENCER is President. Resolutions approving the action of the House of Representatives, and urging the prompt prosecution of the trial of the usurping President, were adopted. A resolution of special thanks to, and eulogy of, the HON. THADDEUS STEVENS, was also adopted. Mr. Spencer made an eloquent and very earnest address. He was followed by Gen. Walbridge, Judge Fithian, and Maj. James P. Haggerty.

THE Union League Club of this city, Hon. JOHN JAY, President, has given assurance to Congress of its hearty approval of the measure of Impeachment.

WE learn by telegraph, just as we go to press, that the Articles of Impeachment were formally presented by the Managers of the House of Representatives at the bar of the Senate, this (Wednesday) afternoon. The galleries of the Senate were closely packed, and hundreds of persons stood in the halls and corridors, unable to get a glimpse of the proceedings, which were very impressive. Mr. Bingham read the Articles. At the conclusion of the reading, which occupied thirty minutes, Mr. Wade said: "The Senate will take due order and cognizance of the Articles of Impeachment, of which due order will be given by the Senate to the House of Representatives."

WE regret to be unable to present this week a letter from our regular and clear-sighted Washington correspondent. In a telegram received from him just as we go to press, in relation to Impeachment, he says:

"The Senate, after vexatious delays, will come out right. Chase startled us to-day by sending a protest against the Senate, as such, making rules for the government of the Court of Impeachment. It may be considered a Conservative bid, prompted by fear of Wade."

PERSONAL.

Mrs. Swisshelm, it is said, has recovered sixty thousand dollars in real estate near Pittsburg from her divorced husband, who made exclusive claim to it.

Iowa has three women editors—Mrs. Money, of the Jefferson *Era*; Mrs. Hartshorn, of the Corydon *Monitor*, and Mrs. Mary Read, of the *Wright County Register*.

Gerrit Smith, it is announced, has generously donated to the Library at Oswego, N. Y., which bears his name and which he founded, an additional gift of $4,000.

Mrs. Phebe A. Hanaford, the author of several excellent works, was ordained to the work of the Gospel ministry, and installed as pastor of the Universalist Church and Society, at Hingham, on Wednesday, Feb. 19th.

Joshua Hutchinson, of the Hutchinson Family, who has recently had a very successful concert season in Pennsylvania, is to sing in Florence, Mass., on Tuesday evening, the 10th inst.

Dr. Cheever is expected to preach next Sunday in the Hall of the House of Representatives, in Washington, and also to lecture before the Washington Young Men's Christian Association one evening during the week.

Bayard Taylor, according to a letter from Italy, came near being one of the victims of the land-slide at Naples, which destroyed so many lives. He occupied, with his family, a house at Santa Lucia, which was one of those overwhelmed by the avalanche; but, fortunately, on the day it occurred, they were absent on a visit to Sorrento. It is said there were two Americans in the omnibus buried by the slide.

Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's new book is now going through the press in Hartford, and samples of it have been carried around by the agents to show to purchasers. Among the steel portraits in it is one of Fred. Douglass. A few days ago the agents began to come back, with the assertion (made to the publishers) "that the portrait of Fred. Douglass spoils the sale of the book." The publishers consulted Mrs. Stowe, and requested that the offensive portrait be taken out. Mrs. Stowe firmly refused to allow it to be removed, and it stays there.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, March 1st, 1868.

ONE seldom sees a more thorough specimen of a legislative "muddle" than in the attempts of our House of Representatives to make a new arrangement in regard to the sale of spirituous liquors. Most of its members were chosen on account of the wish of their constituents to repeal the prohibitory law, and to get a license law enacted; and yet, last week, a bill to repeal the existing law was laid upon the table; and in regard to the licensing power, it was voted not to put it into the hands of town and county authorities, nor into the hands of special commissioners; indeed the decision seemed to be that this power shall not be used at all; but a reconsideration of this vote is now pending.

Another piece of legislative wisdom was the attempt of a member lately to economize by cutting off two-thirds from the customary appropriations for our State charitable and reformatory institutions; and one item of his scheme was to dispense with the State Agent for the aid of convicts discharged from the State Prison, and to hand over $1,000 heretofore put in his charge for the necessities of such men, to be disbursed by the Chaplain of the Prison, the very man who should *not* have charge of it.

In old times, when a man was discharged from prison he very frequently returned to the companionship of his old associates in crime, because he knew not where else to go. He had the feeling of a suspected person. He had something to conceal, and was always dreading to be discovered; and the knowledge or suspicion of his former ill conduct frequently barred him from employment in such honest ways of living as he was fitted for. To remove this difficulty, and to help the well-disposed, on going out from the State Prison, and other prisons, to find honest employment, a Society was formed in Boston which employed and sustained an Agent in this work. This Agent, by permission and co-operation of the Warden, made acquaintance with those of the prisoners who were soon to be discharged, learned their circumstances, dispositions and capacities, and offered to each a fair chance to get an honest occupation and make a new start in life. And, since part of his business was to be in correspondence with the employers of laboring men and artisans all over the country, he very often knew favorable places where a workman might receive employment immediately on leaving the prison, giving no time for indolence, drink or evil persuasions to turn him in an opposite direction.

This plan has been found, for more than thirty years, to work admirably well, and to save a majority of those confined in our State Prison and other prisons, from continuance in the evils ways that carried them there. Such an Agent, a secular, practical man, acquainted with men and things, familiar with business, and skilled in discerning character, will have far more success in dealing with men of this sort than a clergyman or a chaplain. From the latter many will shrink, from some good or ill reason; and of those who welcome his professional advances, some will make false pretences of penitence and piety as the most probable way to gain favor.

Finding that the Agent of this Society was doing work most useful to the State, as well as to the individuals concerned, the Governor of Massachusetts, ten years ago or so, appointed him State Agent for the same work; and appropriations were made for a moderate addition to his salary, and a larger sum to be put into his charge for such assistance in the way of tools, clothing, temporary board or travelling expenses, as he persons who resorted to him should be found to need. And this arrangement, which has been found to work admirably well for all parties, was one of those which our penny-wise legislative economist undertook to displace.

What the community needs is, more intelligent and efficient measures for the *prevention* of crime; such beneficent early arrangements among the perishing classes that they may neither be driven, nor suffered to fall, among the dangerous classes. And this is precisely work done by the Agent of the "Massachusetts Society for Aiding Discharged Convicts," who is also the State Agent for the same work.

An outrageous piece of cruelty lately perpetrated this State—the attempt to drive two horses from this city to Worcester in the shortest time possible, which caused the death of the winning horse the same night—has aroused some of our people to the need of a Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. The great difficulty in the way of reforms of this sort is the absolute indifference of the conductors of the daily press to the brutalities in question. They seem to consider the proper business of the editorial office—as Abraham Lincoln did of the Presidential office—to be a following of the tastes and wishes of the people, irrespective of the moral character and the practical tendency of those tastes and wishes. So we have races and prize-fights elaborately reported, not only without the least word of reprobation of the scoundrels who conduct them, or of the gambling transactions with which they are always combined, but as if the thing most important was for the community to know which rascal gained and which lost, and how much.

In this case, most of our editors reported the torture of one horse to death, and the cruelty practised upon another, which had not the good fortune to die, simply as news of the day, just as they reported the *natural* deaths, and the prices current. But fortunately, one gentleman wrote a communication upon the subject, speaking of the need of taking measures against the repetition of such cruelties, and inviting the like-minded to co-operate with him, and the prospect now is that we shall have a Society formed.

But have we not laws already against gambling? And can they not be enforced against those people who make public matches for money, to be decided by a fight, a race or a game? We have driven lotteries out of New England. Is not the habit of betting upon all sorts of contests of strength and skill a vice of the same sort? And should the decent part of the community favor those sports which, besides being cruel in themselves, are notoriously got up for the purpose of making money by betting? NORTH.

IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2d, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

A GREAT deal of speculation is now being indulged in relative to the probable result of impeachment in the United States Senate. Understanding perfectly the faint-heartedness of Republican Senators, Democrats and Rebels are openly boasting of the ability of the President to procure votes enough to prevent a conviction. They even go so far as to name the members that are to prove false and fail to meet the requirements of the hour, by voting not guilty on the final determination of the case. Among the eight supposed false men named are Trumbull, Fessenden, Morgan, Ross, Van Winkle, and Frelinghuysen. While I am aware true and earnest Radicals have as little reason to put their trust in the Republican Senators as the chosen people of God in ancient times had for putting their "trust in princes," I do not, and cannot believe, there is one particle of reason for making such assertions. Not one Republican Senator, in my opinion, has the moral courage to refuse to convict, if the evidence will justify a conviction. Those Senators have been driven into a corner by the resolute determination of the radical element of the nation, where they cannot do otherwise than act with courage. Their political life now depends upon a conviction, and even political cowards will show fight when they cannot possibly avoid it. That is peculiarly the present condition of the conservative Republicans of the United States Senate. They have no possible chance of success in the future save in the impeachment and removal of Andrew Johnson, and no one need for a moment doubt their willingness to vote yes on that measure, when that yes will save their political existence, and a no would be the death-knell of the Republican party at the ensuing elections. The truth is Republican Senators and the Republican party are now on board a ship in a storm, and there is no possible way of taking her into a safe harbor but through the channel of impeachment, and that is just as apparent to Senators as to Radical agitators. We have no reason to fear the Senate, even ad-

mitting the faint-heartedness and red-tape worshipping propensities of Republican members of that body. The Radical masses stand behind urging them forward, and they had much rather face the shattered fragments of a routed Conservatism than meet the frowns and indignation of the invincible hosts of Radicalism.

But while it is quite certain the Senate will convict, it is by no means certain they will discharge their whole duty in the matter. In this case, as in all other great measures pending before that body, Radicalism will be compelled to give common sense to some eight or nine Senators before they can be made fully to comprehend the logic of the situation. Generally that requires some six months' hard, persevering labor to be made successful; and judging from the past, we have very good reason to expect naught but a stupid blundering upon a correct conclusion, instead of a sensible, well conducted proceeding.

Common sense would require a suspension from office, during trial; but Senatorial knee-shaking will be quite likely to proceed without a resort to such a measure. I understand well what arguments, or rather poor shadows of argument, are resorted to for the purpose of satisfying the people there is no power of suspension from office during trial. But all such clouded moonshine will fail to satisfy a single intelligent Radical voter in the land. The honest voters who look upon such subjects in the light of common sense, instead of approaching them as quibbling, faint-hearted pettifoggers, hunting excuses for not coming up to the requirements of the hour, consider a trial necessarily gives the tribunal before which it is conducted authority over the person tried. They regard a trial where the party tried is permitted to tamper with and change the constitution of the court during the progress of that trial a mockery and a farce. They know full well, if the President is not suspended during the pending trial, he can lawfully tamper with the court trying him, and change the constitution of that court by a lawful exercise of the duties of the Presidential office. If he can lawfully and properly discharge the duties of the Presidential office during trial, he can lawfully exercise the appointing power. If he can exercise the appointing power, there is nothing in the Constitution and laws to prevent him from appointing Senators to office. There are twelve first-class missions, seven cabinet offices, to say nothing of the fifty offices of a lower grade that are desirable even for Senators to hold. Now, what is to hinder the President from appointing some twenty Republican Senators to missions and cabinet offices during trial, and thus defeat the whole proceeding? Nothing at all but the incorruptibility of those twenty Senators, and the past history of these dignified gentlemen is not calculated to entirely disarm suspicion as to their course in such a case. In truth, many Radicals are ill-natured enough to assert that the people once had as much confidence in Andrew Johnson as they now have in those Senators, and the confirmation of the Fullertons, Steadmans, and other tools of Mr. Johnson the past twelve months, is not very likely to allay their fears of Senatorial gentlemen being influenced by offers of appointment. There is certainly no law in the way of such proceedings, and no sane man can well believe the law provides a mode of trial without protecting the triers from improper influence during its progress.

It is folly sublimed to madness to seriously assert there is no power to suspend a President during trial. What is the object of impeaching a President? To remove him from place after he has become so wicked as to make it unsafe to tolerate him longer. Does any one say a President guilty of treason cannot be checked up by suspension, until a trial and conviction can be had? Such an idea is ridiculous nonsense. The very fact that makes it proper and lawful to try a President for high crimes, makes it improper and unsafe for him longer to be entrusted with the exercise of the Presidential functions. Unless followed by suspension, the whole proceeding, in the case of the impeachment of a President, is a lie and a sham. It is based upon the theory of a dangerous disregard of law and the Constitution, and the not suspending him during trial, in effect, says there is not a particle of necessity for such a proceeding. Who believes a President wicked enough to disregard law before trial, will be honest enough to quietly submit to law after conviction and sentence of removal? Such a case might possibly happen once in fifty thousand years, but a body of men who acted upon the supposition that it is likely ever to happen, is unfit to be tolerated in any public employment outside the walls of a madhouse. A man may possibly preserve himself pure in a brothel, but no one would think of tolerating a legislature that would publicly recognize an *habitue* of such an institution as sufficiently pure to be entrusted with the training of the rising generation. And such an act would be just as sensible as would be the act of a Senate having power of trying a President on charges of violating the laws and Constitution of the nation, and endangering the public peace, in permitting him to remain in the undisturbed power of repeating those crimes during trial. The very fact of leaving a man, too wicked to be trusted, in command of the army and navy and in the full exercise of the Presidential office during the progress of trial for high crimes and misdemeanors, would be going through the criminal folly of aiding a criminal on trial, with the means in his hands of destroying the tribunal constituted to try him, and prevent the execution of any judgment rendered against him.

Senators will do well to remember that the eyes of the nation are upon them, and they cannot expect forgiveness for any faint-hearted flinching in the discharge of duty. I do not believe they are liable, justly, to the censures being heaped upon them; but it is proper they should know what is suspected and whispered on the streets. The enemies of liberty now centre all their hopes on the supposed cowardice of the Senate. Their hopes, I am confident, are not well founded. The Senate will stand firm in the hour of the nation's trial. All will be well in that body.

Charles E. Moss.

LETTER FROM MRS. FRANCES D. GAGE.

MISS CLARA BARTON.

New York, Feb. 26, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Is it wrong to take the gems that come to us in letters from private correspondents (take them from out our own hearts, I mean) and give them to the world, that thousands may glow and sparkle in the light meant for our eyes alone? If it be, the guilt must rest upon the Arm Chair, for I cannot resist the temptation.

In a hurried note from my friend, Clara Barton, the eve of her delivering her sublimely beautiful lecture in Cooper Institute, New York, she speaks in this wise:

"Don't you pity me to-night? I can do nothing in that great hall, and ought not to be put there. But, never mind; if *I* do fail, we've impeached Andy.* Shall we see the fair, lovely face of Mrs. Wade in the White House, and feel that the "poor niggers" will get a little peace and safety? God bless their black faces and great anxious hearts! How they are thronging the galleries of the House and Senate, seven deep around every door! still, calm, patient, anxious—oh, how anxious! Their great eyes peer down upon the members and senators, with each flash saying, more plainly than words, 'You hold our destiny; will you betray us? We have been true, loyal and faithful; will you slay us?' I went and stood away behind them, alone, and wept like a child. Thank God, their day will come at last."

And I, too, Mr. Editor, wept over this hasty note, that told, in a few graphic words, the great struggle going on in those weary, "waiting hearts." Many might have written those words, and I should have read them with little thought. But Clara Barton saw these waiting, weary ones, as they hung on the skirts of the great army—at Bull Run, at Chantilly, South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Petersburg, the Wilderness, etc:—saw them in the bloody days upon Fort Wagner, at Hilton Head; saw the shattered remnants return from Olustee, heard their plaintive songs floating over the lone "Tybee," listened to their earnest midnight prayers among the skeleton graves of Andersonville. She has known of their broken and crushed lives, and their unwavering faith, as no other one woman that I know has done, through years of residence at Washington. And when her words came to me, "Thank God, their day will come at last!" it thrilled me and filled me with a hope, sure and steadfast, that out of this black, fearful night of shame and wrong to this oppressed and long-suffering people, we should soon emerge into the dawn of a day of glorious liberty and rest, such as the world has not known. When such women as Clara Barton prophesy, and utter their cry of thanksgiving, we may take heart.

I ask for emancipation for woman, for equal rights for every human soul, but not in one jot or tittle would I (or such as Clara Barton) abate our claim for justice to those who have been the unwilling cause, heretofore, of all our national woe.

Oh! that I could raise my feeble cry loud enough to be heard by all true women in the land, "Now is the hour when you may speak for your country and for God! In your own homes and households plead for the incoming of that glorious time, which the angels proclaimed in the long ago: 'Peace upon earth, and good will to men.'"

Frances D. Gage.

P. S.—Since my last from the Arm Chair in The Standard, I have received letters, inviting me to lecture and attend meetings. Dear friends, I am an invalid still, with palsied limbs that are only able to bear me, tremblingly, across my prison floor, and hands that tremblingly write. My God speed to the good and true.

F. D. G.

*She resides in Washington.

THE WORLD'S PROGRESSION AND THE CHURCH'S RETROGRESSION.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Two events, nearly simultaneous, have occurred lately, which go to show that, in the matter of abjuring caste, the world is making progress in the right direction while the church, as usual, is going in the wrong direction.

The Lochiel Iron Works are located near Harrisburg, Pa. The company employ about three hundred hands, chiefly in making railroad iron. Some time since the officers of the company, in order to test the capacity of the works, agreed that when the hands would turn out fifteen hundred tons of rails in one month, they would reward the effort by giving the men an oyster supper. In due time the hands accomplished the feat by making 1,565 tons of rails. Recently the company made good their words, and the men, after marching with great decorum from the State Capitol to the Lochiel Hotel, sat down to as fine a feast as the markets of Harrisburg could afford, which is saying a great deal. The President of the company, with several of the directors, took their seats at the table, accompanied by Senator Worthington, of Chester County, who made a capital speech. Among the three hundred hands were a considerable number of black men. Yes, Mr. Editor, genuine "niggers," who sat down promiscuously with the rest, instead of waiting for the second table, or taking their meals at a table by themselves. They were treated precisely as the rest were treated, and all behaved like gentlemen. The President of the company, and the senator from Chester, did not lose the odor of sanctity by the presence of the blacks, but all seemed mutually pleased and satisfied. Now, when you consider that this took place at Harrisburg, you will agree with me that the world is progressing in the matter of abolishing that atheistical, inhuman, and unchristian spirit of caste, which nowhere on earth prevails, except in the United States, where it is the offspring of the old system of slavery.

Now let us see what the church is about. In the *Independent* of the 13th instant, Mr. Tilton informs the public that a split has occurred in the unanimity of the Congregational Church of the city of Washington, of which Dr. Boynton is pastor. It appears that two young men applied for membership in the church, and after examination were received. But the sun had looked upon them and they were black, and therefore, for no other reason, the pastor of the church, professing a religion that proclaims God to be no respecter of persons, deliberately sat down and wrote a sermon, and then deliberately preached it on the Sabbath, in which he expressed his objections to these young men joining his church, when there were "nigger" churches in Washington where they could go. He says: "But in a community where suitable churches and schools of their own people abound, I cannot conscientiously, as a friend of the blacks, advise them to avoid those organizations of their own, and bury themselves in a living grave—an unheeded little company in the masses of the whites."

Now, you may, Mr. Editor, be surprised at this display of rank, infidel, pro-slavery feeling on the part of Dr. Boynton; you may be amazed at the use of the word *conscientious* in his plea: but I am not disappointed in my expectations, for I have for years believed that Dr. Boynton belonged to the class of religionists, who, like the ancient Samaritans, "feared the Lord, but served their own gods." He was an abolitionist, but an abolitionist of the order of Saint Nicodemus. In past years, during our most terrible struggle with the slave power, it was observable that when any diabolical iniquity was about to be perpetrated, the pro-slavery clergy got up a revival of religion to sanctify the crime, by arguing that if slavery were so bad, and the church's complicity in it so criminal as the abolitionists represented, God would not give such tokens of his approbation as he did in revivals of religion. So, in reading Mr. Tilton's extract from Dr. Boynton's sermon, the moment I came to the word *conscientious*, I was sure he was going to commit an act of treason to humanity. In times of persecution, the clergy always wept when they gave poor heretics over to the "scarlet arm."

Now, Mr. Editor, in what remains to be done in the anti-slavery work, you must fall back on the old policy, and show the difference, the heaven-wide difference, between the religion of Jesus, which we call Christianity, and the hollow, worthless religion of the conservative churches.

Rudolph.

THE ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT REPORTED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On Saturday afternoon, Feb. 29, Mr. Boutwell, Chairman of the Select Committee on the subject, reported to the House of Representatives the following articles of impeachment against the President of the United States.

Articles exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States, in the name of themselves and all the people of the United States, against Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, as maintenance and support of their impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors in office.

Article 1. That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, unmindful of the high duties of his office, of his oath of office, and of the requirement of the Constitution that he should take care that the laws be faithfully executed, did unlawfully and in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, issue an order, in writing, for the removal of Edwin M. Stanton from the office of Secretary for the Department of War, said Edwin M. Stanton having been, therefore, duly appointed and commissioned by and with the consent of the Senate of the United States as such Secretary, and said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States on the 12th day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1867, and during the recess of the said Senate, having suspended by his order Edwin M. Stanton from said office, and within twenty days after the first day of the next meeting of the Senate, on the 12th day of December, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, having reported to said Senate such suspension, with the evidence and reason for his action in the case, and the name of the person designated to perform the duties of such office temporarily, until the next meeting of the Senate, and said Senate thereafterward on the 13th day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1868, having duly considered the evidence and reasons reported by said Andrew Johnson for said suspension, did refuse to concur in said suspension, whereby and by force of the provisions of an act entitled an act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices, passed March 2, 1867, said Edwin M. Stanton did forthwith resume the functions of his office, whereof the said Andrew Johnson had then and there due notice, and said Edwin M. Stanton by reason of the premises on said 21st day of February, was lawfully entitled to hold said office of Secretary for the Department of War, which said order for the removal of said Edwin M. Stanton, is in substance as follows, that is to say:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., February 21, 1868.

Sir: By virtue of the power and authority vested in me as President, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, you are hereby removed from office as Secretary for the Department of War, and your functions as such will terminate upon receipt of this communication. You will transfer to Brevet Maj.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant General of the Army, who has this day been authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, all records, books, papers, and other public property now in your custody and charge.

Respectfully yours, Andrew Johnson.

To the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Washington, D. C.

Which order was unlawfully issued, with intent then and there to violate an act entitled, an act regulating the tenure of certain civil officers, passed March 21, 1867, and contrary to the provisions of said act and in violation thereof, and contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, the Senate then and there being in session, to remove said Edwin M. Stanton from the office of Secretary for the Department of War, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

Art. 2. That on the said 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office, of his oath of office, and in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and contrary to the provisions of an act entitled an act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices, passed March 2, 1867, without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, said Senate then and there being in session, and without authority of law, did appoint one Lorenzo Thomas to be Secretary of War *ad interim*, by issuing to said Lorenzo Thomas a letter of authority in substance as follows, that is to say:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., Feb. 21, 1868.

Sir: Hon. Edwin M. Stanton having been this day removed from office as Secretary for the Department of War, you are hereby authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, and will immediately enter upon the discharge of the duties pertaining to that office.

Mr. Stanton has been instructed to transfer to you all the records, books, papers and other public property now in his custody and charge.

Respectfully yours, Andrew Johnson.

To Brevet Maj.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

Whereby the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

Art. 3. The said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did commit, and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office, in this: That without authority of law, while the Senate of the United States was then and there in session, he did appoint one Lorenzo Thomas to be Secretary for the Department of War *ad interim*, without the advice and consent of the Senate, and in violation of the Constitution of the United States. No vacancy having happened in said office of Secretary for the Department of War during the recess of the Senate, and no vacancy existing in said office at the time, and which said appointment so made by the said Andrew Johnson, of the said Lorenzo Thomas, is in substance as follows;

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C., Feb. 21, 1868.

Sir: Hon. Edwin M. Stanton having been this day removed from office, as Secretary for the Department of War, you are hereby authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, and will immediately enter upon the discharge of the duties pertaining to that office.

Mr. Stanton has been instructed to transfer to you all the records, books, papers, and other public property now in his custody and charge.

Respectfully yours, Andrew Johnson.

To Brevet Maj.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-General U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

Art. 4. That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office, and of his oath of office, in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States, on the twenty-first day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully conspire with one Lorenzo Thomas, and with other persons in the House of Representatives unknown, with intent by intimidation and threats to hinder and prevent Edwin M. Stanton, then and there the Secretary for the Department of War, duly appointed under the laws of the United States, from holding said office for Secretary of the Department of War, contrary to and in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and of the provision of an act entitled "An act to define and punish certain conspiracies," approved July 21, 1861, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high crime in office.

Art. 5. That the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office, and of his oath of office, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord 1868, and on divers other days and times in said year, before the 28th day of said February, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully conspire with one Lorenzo Thomas, and with other persons of the House of Representatives unknown, by force to prevent and hinder the execution of an act entitled an act regulating the tenure of certain civil officers, passed March 2, 1867, and in pursuance of said conspiracy, did attempt to prevent Edwin M. Stanton, then and there being Secretary for the Department of War, duly appointed and commissioned under the laws of the United States, from holding such office, whereby the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

Art. 6. That the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the duties of his high office and of his oath of office, on the twenty-first day of February, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully conspire with one Lorenzo Thomas, by force, to seize and take possession of property of the United States in the War Department, contrary to the provisions of an act entitled "An Act to define and punish certain conspiracies," approved July 31, 1831, and with intent to violate and disregard an act entitled "An Act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit a high crime in office.

Art. 7. The said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office, and of his oath of office, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, and on divers other days in said year, before the 28th day of February, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully conspire with one Lorenzo Thomas, to prevent and hinder the execution of an act of the United States, entitled "An act regulating the Tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 5, 1867, and in pursuance of said conspiracy, did unlawfully attempt to prevent Edwin M. Stanton, then and there, being Secretary for the Department of War, under the laws of the United State, from holding said office, to which he had been duly appointed and commissioned, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit, and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office.

Art. 8. That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office, and of his oath of office, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully conspire with one Lorenzo Thomas, to seize and take possession of the property of the United States, in the War Department, with intent to violate and disregard the act entitled "An act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices," passed March 2, 1867, whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit a high misdemeanor in office.

Art. 9. That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, unmindful of the high duties of his office, and of his oath of office, with intent unlawfully to control the disbursement of the moneys appropriated for the military service and for the Department of War, on the 21st day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty eight, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, did unlawfully and contrary to the provisions of an act entitled an act regulating the tenure of civil officers, passed March 2, 1867, and in violation of the Constitution of the United States, and without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and while the Senate was then and there in session, there being no vacancy in the office of Secretary for the Department of War, appoint Lorenzo Thomas Secretary of War *ad interim*, and then and there deliver to said Lorenzo Thomas a letter of authority, in writing, in substance as follows, that is to say:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, D. C. Feb. 21, 1868.

Sir: Hon. Edwin M. Stanton having been this day removed from office, as Secretary for the Department of War, you are hereby authorized and empowered to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, and will immediately enter upon the discharge of the duties pertaining to that office. Mr. Stanton has been instructed to transfer to you all the records, books, papers and other public property now in his custody and charge.

Respectfully yours, Andrew Johnson.

To Brevet Maj.-Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, Adjutant-General United States Army, Washington, D. C.

Whereby said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, did then and there commit, and was guilty of high misdemeanor in office.

Art. 10. That said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, on the 22d day of February, in the year of our Lord, 1868, at Washington, in the District of Columbia, in disregard of the Constitution and the laws of Congress duly enacted, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the United States, did bring before himself, then and there, William H. Emory, a Major-General by brevet in the Army of the United States, actually in command of the Department of Washington, and the military forces thereof, and did, then and there, as such Commander-in-Chief, declare to and instruct said Emory, that part of a law of the United States, passed March 2, 1867, entitled an "Act making appropriations for the support of the Army for the year ending June 30, 1868, and for other purposes," especially the second section thereof, which provides, among other things, that "all orders and instructions relating to military operations issued by the President or Secretary of War, shall be issued by the General of the Army, and, in case of his inability, through the next in rank," was unconstitutional, and in contravention of the commission of said Emory, and therefore not binding on him as an officer of the United States, which said provision of law had been theretofore duly and legally promulgated by general order for the government and direction of the Army of the United States, as the said Andrew Johnson then and there well knew, with intent thereby to induce said Emory, in his official capacity as Commander of the Department of Washington, to violate the provisions of said act, and to take and receive, act upon and obey such orders he, the said Andrew Johnson, might make and give, and which should not be issued through the General of the Army of the United States, did then and there commit and was guilty of a high misdemeanor in office, and the House of Representatives, by protestation, saving to the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any further articles or other accusation or impeachment against the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, and also of reply to his answer which he shall make to the articles herein preferred against him, and of offering proof to the same and every part thereof, and to all and every other article, accusation or impeachment which shall be exhibited by them as the case shall require, do demand that the said Andrew Johnson may be put to answer the high crimes and misdemeanors in office herein charged against him, and that such proceedings, examinations, trials and judgments may be thereupon had and given as may be agreeable to law and justice.

IS IT SETTLED?

Washington, Feb. 29, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Your readers have doubtless seen some account of the troubles in the Unitarian Society here, growing out of the action of the Managing Committee in excluding or ejecting a Colored Sunday school. It is now stated in several journals that the matter has been settled. To that we have to say that the school has not met in the church since they were turned out, and we have never heard of any settlement that recognized their perfect equality before God and man, which was the real question at issue. The truth is, a denominational plaster has been skilfully applied, and it is heralded through the press that it is settled. Impeachment is yet to follow.

C.

THE SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

The following additional contributions have been received since previous acknowledgments:

Samuel E. & Harriet W. Sewall,	$ 20 00
Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society,	100 00

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held at 727 Filbert street, on Fifth day, the 12th inst., at 3½ o'clock.

G. M. S. P. Jones, Sec'y.

LETTER FROM MISS SALLIE HOLLEY.

New York, March 4th, 1868.

My Dear Mrs. ——: You objected last week, "What is the sense of keeping up an Anti-Slavery Society, when there is not a slave in all the land?" There are *slaves* in Alaska, held by a cruel and warlike tribe of Indians, who need to be released. The apprenticeship in Maryland and Kentucky has been declared by Chief-Justice Chase to be *substantial* slavery. Only last week a Wilmington paper asks, "Does slavery yet exist in Delaware?" The case of a little colored girl was decided in the courts against the State law, and the child set free under the Civil Rights bill of Congress. But there were the old laws of the slave State Delaware ruling till now. Has there been no need of an Anti-Slavery Society? This poor little motherless girl had been kept from her father by the laws of slavery from infancy. Bewildered by the strange sights and noises of the city, her fear gave way to the greatest joy when she was restored to her father. "Now, I shall yet go to school and learn to read and write!" Who can tell how many lonely, pining children are now, to all purposes, *slaves*, in Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky, growing up with none to care whether *they* learn to read and write, as this little Hetty Morris was till the Abolitionists defended her? It is heartless, cold-blooded, worldly apathy, that *can* object to the name or the work of an *Anti-Slavery Society*. Since this New Year began, three negroes were seized in Tennessee, bound over logs, and beaten nearly dead, because they voted the Republican ticket. Three thousand black men in Mississippi petition Congress to send them to Liberia. In their touching language, "The white people have all the land, all the money, all the education. Many of the planters refuse to pay us altogether, and they work generally to prevent the education of our children." And *you* tell me there is no need of an Anti-Slavery Society. See black men all over the South persecuted, driven from homes, such as they have had, denied work and bread, for daring to vote *loyally*. See them still shot down—killed by all the cowardly, ruffianly means known to the old barbaric days of slavery—and then, if you have a human heart, ask the American Anti-Slavery Society to stop its work, if you can! Are you afraid the black people will have *too many* friends, *too much* justice, *too much* liberty? What other motive can make you so *hostile* to the efforts and success of these truest, most unselfish, best friends of the outcast, victim race? I envy not the head or the heart that has anything but tender blessing for the Anti-Slavery Society, laboring to make black people as safe and happy in their liberty and rights as white people. The state of mind that *can* quibble about technicalities, and seek to hinder instead of help this work, can only be compared to that of the Pharisees who thrust their evil questionings in the way of Jesus's doing good—"Is it lawful to *heal* on the Sabbath day?" It was this unfeeling inhumanity that would neither relieve suffering, or welcome one who would do it, that prompted that magnificent outburst of terribly indignant, burning rebuke, declaring those hypocritical Pharisees guilty of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost—the sin that could never be forgiven—the most fearful, hopeless alienation from God.

The American Anti-Slavery Society is the only Society in all this broad land, amid thirty millions of people—that demands, unfalteringly, a guaranteed equal liberty, equal justice, for the black race! The *only* movement devoted to this highest work of Christian patriotism!

Imagine yourself, the other day, brutally thrust out of the street cars of Washington with that intelligent, refined colored lady, whose cause Charles Sumner so nobly seeks to redress in Congress? Would that be Anti-Slavery enough for you? Do you dare say before the bar of Truth—before God—that your husband is *equal to Frederick Douglass?* Think of his being born a slave! He never saw his mother by daylight! His back is all scarred by the lash! Think how faithfully, perseveringly he has studied to make himself all the man God meant him to be! Come up through this dreadful, cruel prejudice against color, that is pressing down upon him with giant weight on every side, alike from the sinner and the professing Christian! Hear him say, "I sometimes forget the color of my skin, and remember I am a man! I sometimes forget I am hated of men, and remember I am loved of God." Think what energy, what courage, what rare, noble aspiration and character this reveals! As Chief-Justice Chase remarked, when introducing him to a Washington audience, a few years ago, "One of the most distinguished of Americans." And the other day, in Connecticut, where he delivered a Lyceum lecture, he was refused a seat at the table of the hotel, because of his color! Is that *Anti-Slavery* enough for your husband?

Sallie Holley.

MRS. FRANCES ANN KEMBLE.

READINGS AT STEINWAY HALL.

It is now thirty-six years since Mrs. Kemble made her first appearance before an American audience. Coming from a line royal in intellect, even her first *debut*, which was at the old Park Theatre, was an event of interest as well as a marked success. A subsequent career, blending the rarest histrionic genius with a spotless life, in both hemispheres have rendered her name and fame household words.

As a reader—a delineator of Shakspeare—Mrs. Kemble undoubtedly stands without a living equal. Called the "best" of readers by competent judges, she is admirably qualified for the task not only by her matchless accomplishments as an elocutionist, but by her extraordinary claims to admiration as a skilled interpreter of Shakspeare. An untiring study of his works; a subtle knowledge of human nature, and an imagination not unallied to the genius of the great poet himself, all admirably qualify Mrs. Kemble for her exalted mission.

A brief season now in progress in this city enables the truly refined and cultivated to gratify their highest intellectual taste, to many of whom even her person is unfamiliar. The Readings, four in number, comprise "Coriolanus," "Midsummer Night's Dream," "The Tempest," and "King Lear." As yet, we have had the pleasure of listening to two entertainments—"Coriolanus," on the evening of the 2d inst. and "Midsummer Night's Dream" on the evening of the 3d inst. On the evening of the 6th inst. "The Tempest" will be given, and "King Lear" at the Matinee of the day following. Perhaps in the wide range of dramatic subjects, Mrs. Kemble could not have selected more trying tests of her wondrous abilities as a reader. Yet thus far she has passed the ordeal triumphantly. The same magic voice that in the olden time cast its spell of enchantment over audiences American and European, is still intact, its varied powers—imperious command, tender, fairy-like accent, agonized entreaty, quick, passionate reproach—carrying delight to the audiences gathered despite the inclement weather. An intellectual feast and a remembrance ever to cherish are her readings, and every student of Shakspeare should improve these precious opportunities of listening to his greatest living interpreter.

From here, under the skilful management of T. B. Pugh, Esq., of Philadelphia, to whom our citizens are deeply indebted for this and other intellectual treats, Mrs. Kemble proceeds to that city, where we trust an equally successful season awaits her.

W. P. T.

LITERARY.

Woman's Wrongs: A Counter Irritant. 212 pages. By Gail Hamilton. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

One of the latest and most interesting contributions to the discussion of the "Woman Question," is the above named volume, from the pen of Gail Hamilton. The first part is devoted to a critical notice of the Rev. Dr. Todd. The subject of the ballot is next treated at length. The last part of the book presents the author's conception of the rights and the mission of true womanhood.

Dr. Todd is severely dealt with. Waking up several months ago to the progress of the Woman's Rights movement, and disturbed by the thought that its triumph will transform women from subordinates to the coequals of men, he makes an earnest but vain protest. He would preserve the old order of things, and have women find in domestic service, child-bearing, and ministering unto the passions and caprices of men as the "Lords of creation," the chief ends of their existence. His efforts would appear supremely ridiculous at this late stage of the discussion, and scarcely deserving the prominent notice given to them in the book before us, but that they have so many to sympathise with and applaud them, especially among the clergy, the religious journals, and among women themselves. No one could answer him more effectively than Gail Hamilton has done, and no writer among women would gain a more ready access to the many who most need to read the answer.

In discussing the question of the ballot for women, Miss Dodge asserts woman's equal right with man. She does not, however, look to the ballot with much interest as a remedy for woman's wrongs. She would prefer to restrict voting to fewer men, rather than to see universal suffrage for men and women. This is the weak point of her book. Without ourselves believing the ballot in and of itself to be an all-sufficient panacea for the ills of either men or women, we regard every extension of the suffrage as fraught with good to the enfranchised. Granted that in enfranchising women it will be but duplicating, to a great extent, the votes on the one side or the other cast by men, still it is better that all should have the responsibility, and thus be in a position to be made to feel the dignity and value of citizenship. Women who suffer from inequality in wages may not, by voting, be able at once to command equal pay, but that the ultimate result would be a gain to women as a class in this particular there can be no doubt. Upon the untold and incalculable suffering which comes of legalized intemperance, it is quite certain the votes of women, added to those of men, would exert an increased restraining influence. Pending in the Legislature of this State, as we write, is a bill which proposes also to license and regulate the "social evil." In this consuming fire, men and women are both victims. If it is to be the subject of legislation, it is not only right that women should pronounce a decisive opinion through the ballot, but it would be unquestionably a great gain to public morality, the physical and moral health of both men and women, if women could and would bring their power, through the ballot, in addition to their other methods of influence, to bear upon this important problem of society. The ballot is a symbol of individual power, whether it be in the hands of man or woman. Though it does not suffice to convert immediately ignorant, low-lived men to intelligent, high-minded citizens, the tendency, all must admit, even under the most discouraging circumstances, has been favorable, as far as the experiment has been tried. Educational facilities, which should be increased and go hand in hand with the extension of the suffrage, have been, and are at best, very inadequate. Facilities for education should at least be co-extensive with the provisions for the suppression of crime. Though if this result could be achieved at once, we should not expect, on the instant, a great change for the better in the condition of men and women, we should count it a great gain, in promise and possibility, over any system of restricted suffrage which should even include only the more intelligent and virtuous and property-owning classes of men. Restricted suffrage is anti-democratic in theory, and inevitably unjust, to a greater or less extent, in practice. The government of a country should be one in which constitutionally, every man and every woman, not idiotic or guilty of crime, should count one and the equal of every other in the right of voting.

The ideal woman, and the eloquent plea for greater breadth and depth of culture for both women and men, as represented in the last pages of the book, we cannot too warmly commend. The ideal is noble, beautiful, attainable. The earnest plea for efficient doing, for a broad, deep and thorough culture, will inspire and quicken to ennobling effort every reader. As a whole, the volume is fresh, entertaining and instructive beyond any from Gail Hamilton's pen. We are glad to notice that it is gaining, as it deserves, a wide circulation.

The Phrenological Journal for March contains D'Israeli, the English Minister; John Bright, the Reformer; Hon. Timothy O. Howe, U. S. S.; Thomas Allen Reed, the celebrated Shorthand Reporter; "Jennie June"—Mrs. J. C. Croly; Charles Kean, the Tragedian; Elizabeth Blackwell; A Woman's Manner; What and How shall a Man Preach; Literary Women; Seeing, not Believing; No Business; The Broad Way; Pauperism, its Cause and Cure, etc., with numerous portraits and illustrations.

The *Herald of Health* for March contains an interesting article, on the "Resurrection of the Body," by Rev. O. B. Frothingham, which will well repay perusal. Mrs. E. Oakes Smith continues her thoughts on the marriage question, under the title of "Choosing a Wife." Horace Greeley tells us "Why men like to Drink," and Rev. H. W. Beecher "How to secure a Happy Old Age." Dr. G. H. Taylor gives a second paper on the "Movement Cure," with instructive illustrations as to methods of treatment. Mrs. F. D. Gage contributes No. 2 of her entertaining and suggestive articles on the "Physical Degeneracy of Woman." There is also a variety of other valuable reading matter in this enterprising journal.

Mace's Fairy Book. By Jean Mace. 304 pages. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This fairy tale volume has been translated from the French, by Miss Mary L. Booth, who is well known as a translator and compiler of some of the pleasantest books of our current literature. She gives in her preface an interesting biographical sketch of the author.

These fairy stories are among the best of their kind. They are beautifully written, in a simple, but fascinating style, and they all convey good moral lessons, which cannot fail to benefit as well as interest children. They are designed to correct childish faults, but we think the selfishness of some adults might receive a fitting rebuke from some of these good fairies. We can most heartily commend the book for family reading. It is finely printed and well illustrated. A portrait of M. Jean Macé is also given.

Merry's Museum, new series, is now published by Mr. Horace B. Fuller, of Boston, with Miss Louisa M. Alcott as editor. This juvenile magazine is one of the oldest, if not the oldest of its class. As recently "reconstructed," under its present editorial conduct, it is one of the very best of the many which now invite the attention of juvenile readers.

The February number contains a very entertaining article, entitled "My little Friend," all about a fly, from Miss Alcott's pen; "Two ways of being Manly;" "The Loggers, or Six Months in the Forests of Maine;" "An Object for Saving;" "Little Pearl;" "Mutiny Abroad;" "Forgiveness;" "Where is Bennie;" "Aunt Sue's Scrap Bag;" "Merry's Monthly Chat with his Friends," etc. The illustrations are good, and the moral tone of the contents is excellent. It deserves liberal patronage from our young friends.

We are glad to be able to announce that a brief biographical sketch of the late James Mott, prepared by our friend Mary Grew, is soon to be published in neat pamphlet edition by Mr. William P. Tomlinson, publisher, No. 39 Nassau street, in this city.

Mr. Tomlinson has in press the discourse "Household Foes," by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham, which appeared in The Standard a few weeks since. It will be ready for sale on Monday, the 9th inst., a handsome sixteen page pamphlet, at fifteen cents per copy.

The Sarsaparilla Diggers of Yucatan.— This singular set of people are descended from the ancient Aztecs of Southern Mexico, and still retain some of the peculiarities which Stephens and Prescott gave of their ancestors. Dr. J. C. Ayer & Co., employ a small army of them in digging Sarsaparilla root. Provided with narrow spades, a coil of rope, and a bag of water, they are ready for the forest where the wild banana furnishes them food, and thick-leaved trees their only shelter. Few of those who find themselves rejuvenated by this product, know how much they are indebted to the toil of these humble laborers, who dig health for thousands of Doctor Ayer's patrons, while they sometimes lose their own.—*Boston Commercial.*

Special Notices.

PUBLISHING AND BOOK FURNISHING AGENCY.

The undersigned respectfully announces that he has established a Publishing and Book Furnishing Agency, and is prepared to execute all orders that may be intrusted to him, with care and promptness. Authors desiring a publisher or wishing their works superintended while in press, will do well to confer with him, as his experience in the business and established connections, afford peculiar facilities for the furtherance of their interests. Works of all established authors furnished at the shortest notice and at the lowest rates. Office 39 Nassau street, Room 43.

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William P. Tomlinson.

NOTICE TO CITY SUBSCRIBERS.

The Standard will hereafter be delivered to our subscribers in this city by the carriers of the Post office Department. Should any irregularity occur in its delivery from imperfect addresses, or from any other cause, we hope to be promptly advised. To provide for the necessary prepayment of postage the subscription price will, from this date, be three dollars and fifty cents a year to subscribers within the city limits.

Louis Napoleon, hitherto the carrier of our paper in this city, will act as our Agent, and receive subscriptions and advertisements on account of The Standard.

The Anti-Slavery Office on Fifth street is closed. Persons who have business with the State Society, who wish to pay their subscription for The Standard, or who wish to subscribe for the paper, will please call on the undersigned, who has consented to act as General Agent for a time.

E. M. Davis,
No. 333 Walnut street, Philadelphia.

The Standard in New Orleans.—The Standard may now be obtained regularly each week in New Orleans of A. Simon, Esq., No. 85 Barome street.

Advertisements.

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AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY.

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE GORSE

BY ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.

Mountain gorses, ever golden!
Cankered not the whole year long!
Do you teach us to be strong,
Howsoever pricked and holden
Like your thorney blooms, and so
Trodden on by rain and snow
Up the hill-side of this life, as bleak as where ye grow?

Mountain blossoms, shining blossoms!
Do ye teach us to be glad
When no Summer can be had
Blooming in our inward bosoms?
Ye whom God preserveth still,
Set as lights upon a hill,
Tokens to the Wintry earth that Beauty liveth still!

Mountain gorses, do ye teach us
From that academic chair
Canopied with azure air,
That the wisest word Man reaches
Is the humblest he can speak?
Ye who live on mountain peak,
Yet live low along the ground, beside the grasses meek!

Mountain gorses, since Linnæus
Knelt beside you on the sod,
For your beauty thanking God,—
For your teaching, ye should see us
Bowing in prostration new.
Whence arisen—if one or two
Drops be on our cheeks—O world! they are not tears, but dew.

HIPPOPHAGY.

GRAND HORSE DINNER AT LANGHAM'S HOTEL, LONDON.

From the London Times, February 7.

At least 150 persons were asking each other yesterday why horseflesh should not be good fare. It was a question of reason against prejudice. A horse is a clean, and even a dainty, feeder. The pig, which Christians eat without scruple, is not to be compared with the horse in this respect. Many persons had by actual experiment convinced themselves that horseflesh was not less succulent and appetizing than other animal food. It was necessary to show that these were not mere theorists, enthusiasts, or epicures desirous only to cultivate a new sensation. So what is called a "banquet hippophagique" was given at the Langham Hotel last night, and over 160 gentlemen were invited to partake of it. You may convince yourself more or less completely, that you ought to eat horse without feeling squeamish. Can you compose the stomach, and banish all qualms by force of reason? This was the experiment which, at the cost of a guinea and a half, was tried last evening. We give the *menu*, which was prefaced by a bit of French philosophy—"*Les prejuges sont des maledies de l'esprit humain.*"

Potages.—Le consomme de cheval a l'A, B, C. A la puree de destriers. Amontillado.

Poissons.—Le saumon a la sauce Arabe. Les filets de soles a l'huile hippophagique. Vin du Rhin.

Hors-d'œuvres.—Les terrines de foie maigre chevalines. Les saucissons de cheval aux pistaches Syriaques. Xeres.

Releves.—Le filet de Pegase roti aux pommes de terre a la creme. Le dinde aux chataignes. L'Aloyau de cheval farci a la Centaur aux choux de Bruxelles. La culotte de cheval braisee aux chevaux-de-frise. Champagne sec.

Entrees.—Les petits pates a moelle Bucephale. Kromeskys a la Gladiateur. Les poulets garnis a l'hippogriffe. Les langues de cheval a la Troyenne. Chateau Perayne.

SECOND SERVICE.

Rots.—Les canards sauvages. Les pluviers. Volnay. Les mayonnaises de homard a l'huile Rosinante. Les petits pois a la Francaise. Les choux-fleurs au Parmesan.

Entremets.—La gelee de pieds de cheval au marasquin. Les zephirs sautes a l'huile chevaleresque. Le gateau veterinaire a la Ducroix. Les feullautines aux pommes des Hesperides. St. Peray.

Glaces.—De creme aux truffes. Sorbets contre-prejuges. Liquers.

Dessert.—Vins fins de Bordeaux. Madere. Cafe.

Buffet.—Collared horse-head. Baron of horse. Boiled withers.

As far as we could ascertain, the guests went through the bill of fare conscientiously; there was very little gibbing. The soup was hardly distinguishable from that usually given at such dinners. There was, perhaps, some approach to a shudder when soles "*a l'huile hippophagique*" were handed round, but it was barely possible to detect the special flavor of the animal even here, and one could not but recognize the truth of Mr. Samuel Weller's profound observation, "It's the seasoning that does it." After all the fancy dishes and sauces—the piquant sauce derived from an imaginary Arab steed, the slice cut from Pegasus, and so on—the test which practical men desired to apply was, how did the horse taste *au naturel?* A slice of roast horse was presently served. It was cooked to rags, like the French *bouilli*, and was neither more nor less palatable. A more satisfactory dish then appeared. A trumpet sounded, and a beef-eater entered, clad in scarlet and gold, and playing "The Roast Beef of Old England," followed by four cooks in kitchen costume, bearing on their shoulders a smoking baron of horse. This monster joint, weighing 280 pounds, was soon carved and served. Epicures said the flavor resembled that of roebuck. It was certainly a meat which, once tasted, would be taken without hesitation. The result may soon be described. Your prejudice was overcome, but you did not enroll yourself among the enthusiasts who say that horseflesh is more palatable than prime beef. This, we think, would be the conclusion of an average diner, who was neither enthusiastic nor prejudiced; it is quite possible to dine off horse, even at your first meal, without nausea. With very little effort of cookery, you will hardly distinguish it from beef. At your next meal your appetite may come in eating.

Three horses contributed to this dinner. Their photographs were handed round. If you yielded to sentiment, it was sad to look at the living image of the gray horse you were then eating in soup, or of the brown horse which was then being served *en culotte*. But the chairman, Mr. Forsyth, Q. C., reminded the diners that you secured to the horse humane treatment in his latter days, when you showed that his carcass was fit, not for dogs, but for men. Statisticians declare, that in this realm 75,000 horses, free from disease and available for human food, are slaughtered annually. On this theme the chairman enlarged. Here was animal food, palatable, nutritious, cheap. Should it be any longer wasted when animal food was so dear as to be partially beyond the reach of our poorer countrymen? Mr. Forsyth treated the horse question, not as one for epicures, but as a practical question of the highest importance; and this dinner was intended, not to gratify the palates of a few, or to introduce a new dish into the rich man's house, but to popularize a new article of food for the poor. "The horse, and meat at 2½d. per pound" was the next text on which he dwelt. Mr. Maule, Q. C., Sir Henry Thompson, Sir J. Lubbock, and Mr. A. S. Bicknell also spoke. To the latter gentleman was justly ascribed the merit of providing the banquet—a task, where the staple dish is horse, of considerable difficulty. It only now remains to convince the classes who have most to gain from the cheapening of animal food that horseflesh is good to eat. Sir Henry Thompson, whose authority on such a point must needs be great, declared last night, that for invalids equine tea was more nourishing than beef tea. Other medical authorities who were present at the dinner were ready, we believe, to corroborate Sir Henry as to the stimulating properties of the horse when treated in this way.

We should add, that the three horses partaken of were of the respective ages of four, twenty, and twenty-two years. Two had been cart horses; one had drawn a brougham, and in his prime had been worth 700 guineas. The baron was carved from the four-year-old.

The following letter from the "Societe Protectrice des Animaux," founded in Paris in 1845, was read by the chairman during the evening. The bronze medal therein referred to was handed by the chairman, amid general acclamation, to Mr. Bicknell:

PARIS, January 30, 1868.

SIR: In the names of our entire committee we congratulate you on the generous efforts which you are making to introduce horseflesh into consumption in England.

We know by experience how much courage and perseverance are required to struggle against public opinion in such a matter, but the importance of the object at which you aim, and the love of humanity, will give you the necessary strength to maintain this struggle. You think, with much reason, that it is absurd to lose each month, throughout England, millions of pounds of meat, admittedly wholesome and nourishing, when, at the same time, throughout England there are millions of human beings who stand in need of meat.

In France, the opposition to this new food has been very strong, and the authorities, in spite of the favorable opinion of the Council of Health and La Commission Generale d'Hygiene, have delayed for more than three years, the grant of any authority to open in Paris a shop for the sale of horseflesh. Things have changed now. At the official receptions at the beginning of the new year, the Minister of Agriculture congratulated our committee on the results which it has attained. His Excellency was pleased to remind us, that at this moment there are twenty-three butchers' shops at which nothing but horseflesh is sold, and that they have already produced for public consumption several million kilogrammes of this flesh, which has been sold at a price much below that of beef, a result which at this moment is a great boon to the poorer classes.

Our committee, Sir, wishing to encourage your efforts, has just resolved that a medal should be offered to you. You will receive it very shortly.

We pray you, on our behalf, to address our congratulations to the honorable gentlemen who give you their support, and who, in organizing a horse-flesh banquet, cause this important question to be the subject of a fair experiment. By and by the public gratitude will recompense them for the initiative they have so courageously taken.

Pray accept, sir, the expression of our sympathy.

Le Docteur BLATIN, President.
A. GEOFFROY ST. HILAIRE, Vice-President.
BOURGUIN, Secretary.
E. DECROIX, Assistant Secretary.

HOW SOON WE LOSE OUR CHILDREN.

Hold diligent converse with thy children! have them
Morning and evening round the, love thou them,
And win their love in these rare, beauteous years;
For only while the short-lived dream of childhood
Lasts are they thine—no longer! When youth comes
Much passes through their thoughts,—which is not thou,
And much allures their hearts,—which thou hast not.
They gain the knowledge of an outer world
Which fills their souls; and floats before them now
The Future. And the Present thus is lost.
Then, with his little travelling pocket full
Of indispensables, the boy goes forth.
Weeping thou watchest till he disappears,
And never after he is thine again!
He comes back home,—he loves,—he wins a maid,—
He lives! They live, and others spring to life
From him,—and now thou hast a man in him,—
A human being, but no more a child!
Thy daughter, wedded, takes a frequent joy
In bringing thee her children to thy house!
Thou hast the mother—but the child no more!
Hold diligent converse with thy children! have them
Morning and evening round thee; love thou them,
And win their love in the rare and beauteous years!

—*From the German of Leopold Schefer.*

STORIES ABOUT REPORTERS.

A WRITER in *Chambers's Journal* says:

"Capital stories are told of the different varieties of provincial reporters, especially of those of the old school, which is now, happily, passing away. There is the frightful, eager reporter, who is always on duty, never forgetting his mission. One worthy of this class was roused from his slumbers one night by a disturbance on his doorstep. His alarmed spouse compelled him to descend and see what the matter was, and on opening the door, he discovered a man stretched across the threshold in a fit. 'Mary, Mary!' cried he to his better-half, 'bring my note-book and a candle directly; here's a paragraph come to the door!' Such eagerness for work as this shows itself in different forms. An enterprising reporter had heard that Lord Palmerston was to be present at an archery meeting in a small country village in Hampshire, and he accordingly posted down to the place, and, like Mr. Micawber, waited for something to turn up. Lord Palmerston's task was to distribute prizes to some half-dozen blushing young ladies, and the whole company present didn't number much above a score. His Lordship performed his task with his usual grace and good humor, I dare say giving the young ladies a paternal pat on the head, but making only the most commonplace observations. Our stenographer waited anxiously in his place until, to his horror, he saw the proceedings brought to a close without a speech from the Premier. He rushed from his corner to the noble lord, who was getting out of the room as fast as he could. 'My lord—I beg your pardon, but really this won't do.' 'What do you mean, sir?' was the reply of the astonished statesman. 'Why, you've made no speech: I've come all the way from London to report it, and I *must* have a speech of some sort.' Whereupon, it is on record—and this story is a true one—that the good-tempered old gentleman turned back, and detained the retreating audience for twenty minutes, while he gave them a genial desertation on the good qualities of English women in general, and of Hampshire lasses in particular. On another occasion, however, he made up for this complaisance. He was attending an agricultural dinner, and saw a large gathering of reporters, for the times were critical, and a speech of his certain to be valuable. But he had made up his mind not to speak—no man knew better when to hold his tongue—and accordingly he slily sent down to the gentlemen of the press a slip of paper on which, in his bold, round hand, were written the words, 'This fish won't bite!'

"After the eager reporter comes the flowery one, who has always been particularly great in small provincial towns, and who has at his command a stock of adjectives enough to make Lord Macaulay hide his diminished head. This gentleman is in his glory at a flower show, an execution, a funeral, or, in fact, whenever he has an opportunity of murdering the Queen's English. One specimen of the school, when writing about a flower show—which is always 'a horticultural and floral display'—said that it was 'illumined by cart-loads of sunshine.' Another Liverpool worthy, in giving an account of of somebody's funeral, observed that 'the body of the deceased gentleman was followed to the grave by a silent and deeply-sympathizing audience.' I have heard of a paragraph which, with forcible redundancy, was entitled 'Funeral of the remains a late deceased military officer;' and I have seen an account of a penny-reading wound up with the remark that 'the entertainment was, upon the whole, the most mirth-provoking and soul-stirring which could be had for the money!'

"The worst thing about the flowery reporter is, that he has done so much to injure the English language. If he can find a fine word to express the same meaning as a plain one, he never hesitates to cast aside the latter; and if he hears of any barbarous invention of our trans-Atlantic cousins, he straightway makes a note of it, and carefully makes use of it at the very first opportunity. His ideas, too, of the meaning of certain words are somewhat hazy. Thus, a fatal accident is constantly spoken of by him as a 'fatality,' and his adjectives are applied in such haphazard fashion that they might almost have been scattered over his 'copy' with a pepper-caster. The quantity of bad French and Latin, too, which he lugs into all he writes, equals that made use of by a fashionable author twenty years ago. He has almost naturalized some foreign words amongst us, and has given many a slang term a permanent place in our language. Upon the whole, he is the most objectionable representative of the reporter's craft to be met with now-a days."

AN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE IN RUSSIA.—One of the pleasant signs of progress in Russia is the attention now generally given to educational subjects. A conference of delgates from all the universities of the Empire was held at St. Petersburg in January, at which there were in attendance representatives from Moscow, Warsaw, Kazan, Dorpat and other places; the cost of travel and lodging being defrayed by the government. Speeches were made and papers were read, showing what changes and reforms were needed, instituting comparisons between the methods pursued at the respective seats of learning, and offering suggestions for future guidance, M. Kessler, rector of the University of St. Petersburg, presiding.

A letter from St. Petersburg describing this conference, contains the following statements:

"It is true, the ordinary Russian gentleman appears to advantage in a *salon* as an accomplished cavalier, and will converse fluently in four languages; but often he cannot write a letter correctly in his mother tongue, and his French, which he knows better, and uses more commonly than Russian, is, in composition at least, bald and limited, and not unfrequently ill-spelt. He is a literary Jack of all languages, and master of none. The outcry at present is against classical learning; and there is a tendency to exalt unduly mathematics, chemistry, and the exact sciences. Great stress is laid upon the supposed decline of good scholarship in Oxford since the examination statute was reformed, or, rather, remodelled, in 1850, and the new schools of natural science, law and modern history established; and this decline they hail with enthusiasm, as a proof England is beginning to abandon the old vehicles of education."

The same letter says: "Fired by the arguments of Mr. Mill, and animated by the bright example set by Dr. Walker and Lily Maxwell, the women of St Petersburg are now claiming the right of admission to the public lectures of the professors: and the proposal seems to have been received with favor and cordiality."

THE THISTLE.

A thistle-down took up its home
Within a green-wood place,
And Winter passed and Summer came
With sunshine shower and shade;

And years on years went rolling by,
Until it grew at last
Into a thistle strong and tall,
That shared the tempest's blast.

So thus the smallest seed of Truth
May sink into the soul,
And by God's blessing gather power
As ages onward roll.

Against it superstition's bolts
And error's shafts are hurled;
But all unharmed it grows and spreads
Until it fills the world.

LIFE IN REBEL PRISONS.

A UNION soldier writes as follows to the Adrian (Michigan) *Times and Expositor:*

I have been frequently asked by those who have heard and read of the terrible sufferings in the South, "Are these things true? Was life in Andersonville *as bad* as it has been represented?" I desire to say to those and others who have similar doubts regarding the reports, that every account which has fallen under my notice has failed to give any adequate idea of the horrors of prison life, as I saw it during two hundred and ninety-two days at Andersonville and Florence. Indeed, by the nature of the case, exaggeration is well-nigh impossible. Those who have thus far written of these things, and who have made in detail the nearest approach to facts, have left unpictured by far the worst features of prison life, and even then are doubted by the larger portion of the community; and this is not accusing the public in general of a want of credulity. It is impossible for one who has not seen and known the extremities to which men may be reduced by exposure and suffering in its worst possible forms, to believe or understand the facts when told them. Many of those who have survived the horrors of Andersonville, often find it difficult to realize that these are not a dream rather than a terrible reality.

The worst facts connected with these prison pens will never be known on earth, except by those who have survived them.

Public indignation was aroused by the evidence adduced in the trial of Henry Wirz, and its wrath seemed appeased when he paid the price of his crimes on the gallows.

But it is useless to close our eyes to the fact that, in the execution of Wirz, we have punished only an accomplice, while the murderous wretch on whose head rests the killing by starvation and exposure in prison of an army twice as large as that which fought the battles of Eastern Tennessee, and equal in size to that one with which the gallant Sheridan hurled back the rebel gang in the Shenandoah valley—this man goes unpunished. Such is America's dealings with her worst criminal. None can deny that Wirz was doubly deserving of death, though he acted under orders. But measuring guilt by the same standard, what punishment is equal to the crime of Davis, who used Wirz as a tool in carrying out the avowed purpose of the South, to disable, as far as possible, every captured United States soldier.

It is folly to say that Davis was *ignorant* of the usage received by prisoners. He visited many of the prisons in person. Besides, the subject was fully treated in the leading journals of the South, most of whom declared the treatment of the "Yankees" to be "better than they deserved." No Southern man of ordinary intelligence could be ignorant of this, much less their leader, Davis. We cannot longer hope that the arch-traitor will receive any punishment aside from remorse of conscience; which last is not likely to prove severe, since the devil has so fully claimed his own. Yet justice shall not sleep forever. The cries that from these prison pens of misery and death fell unheeded on mortal ears went up unto the ears of Him who hath said, "Vengeance is mine and I will repay." The names of fourteen thousand men whom death released at Andersonville, are recorded on eternity's scroll, and he, the murderer, whom tardy justice has failed to reach, shall at the bar of Supreme justice confront his victims—those noble spirits whose earthly light went out amidst the gloom of Andersonville, Florence, Belle Island, Libby and Castle Thunder.

COSTLY PEARLS.

WE all know how Julius Cæsar, when he was in love with the mother of Marcus Brutus, gave her a pearl worth nearly a quarter of a million of our money, and how Mark Antony drank one, dissolved in vinegar, which cost nearly $400,000, while Clodius, the glutton, swallowed one worth $40,000. The example of Cleopatra found an imitator even in sober England. Sir Thomas Gresham, not otherwise famous for acts of folly, still so mistook the meaning of loyalty that he ground a pearl, which had cost him £15,000, into a cup of wine, in order thus fitly to drink the health of his great Queen! This plagiarist again had many rivals in the mad courtiers of Louis XIV., who, in their insane extravagance, were wont to pulverize their diamonds, and occasionally used the powder to dry the ink of letters which they sent to their beloved ones. Is diamond-powder in the hair much worse?

The largest pearl on record is probably one bought by that most romantic of all travellers and dealers in precious gems, Tavernier, at Catifa, in Arabia, where a pearl fishery existed already in the days of Pliny. It is said—for the pearl is unknown to our day—to have been pearl-shaped, perfect in all respects, and nearly three inches long. He obtained from the Shah of Persia the enormous sum of £111,000 for the gem.

Mr. Hope's pearl, which is looked upon as the finest now known, is two inches long and four inches round. It weighs 1,800 grains, and, like all such rarities, is of such enormous and uncertain value that no one would buy it at a market price. The most beautiful collection of pearls belongs, however, to the Dowager Empress of Russia. Her husband was exceedingly fond of her, and as he shared, with other fancies, also that for fine pearls with her, he sought for them all over the world. They had to fulfil two conditions rarely to be met with; they must be perfect spheres, and they must be virgin pearls—for he would buy none that had been worn by others. After twenty-five years' search, he at last succeeded in presenting his Empress with a necklace such as the world has never seen before.

As this admiration for fine pearls has been the common weakness of man in all ages and in all countries, we need not wonder at their playing a prominent part in religious writings. The Talmud has a pretty story, teaching us that those who believe in it, esteemed but one object in nature of higher value than pearls. When Abraham approached Egypt, the book tells us, he locked Sara in a chest that none might behold her dangerous beauty. But when he was come to the place of paying custom, the officer said: "Pay custom!" And he said: "I will pay the custom." They said to him: "Thou carriest clothes." And he said, "I will pay for clothes." Then they said to him: "Thou carriest gold." And he answered them: "I will pay for gold." On this they further said: "Surely thou bearest the fine silk." He replied: "I will pay custom for the finest silk." Then they said: "Surely it must be pearls that thou takest with thee." And he only answered: "I will pay for pearls." Seeing that they could name nothing of value for which the patriarch was not willing to pay custom, they said: "It cannot be but thou open the box and let us see what is within!" So they opened the box, and the whole land of Egypt was illumined by the lustre of Sara's beauty—far exceeding even that of pearls!

Hence pearls are repeatedly used in Holy Writ also for the most solemn comparisons, and to denote the highest degree of perfection. In the Old Testament wisdom is praised as above pearls, and in the New Testament the kingdom of heaven is compared to a pearl of great price, which, when a merchant had found it, he went and sold all that he had, and bought it. Even the New Jerusalem was revealed to St. John under the figure of an edifice with twelve doors, each of which was a single pearl!

And this precious gem, fit to adorn an Emperor's crown, and to heighten the beauty of the fairest of maidens, this pearl of great price, perfect in form and beauteous in lustre, this jewel of the deep, sought for at the peril of human life, and paid for with the bread of ten thousands—it sickens and dies and vanishes in a day. Every now and then we hear of a noble family, which prided itself on the possession of magnificent ancestral pearls, panic-stricken by finding some of their precious gems turning of a sickly color, and crumbling into dust. It is but a few years since the crown-jeweller of France solemnly applied to the Academy of Sciences for a remedy against this disease, caused probably by the decomposition of the membranes which form part of the pearl, and are after all liable to decay and corruption, like all animal matter, by contact with air. There was no answer given, but the advice to preserve the precious gems, as much as possible, from the influences of light and air; and the Crown of France has since lost some of its most highly prized jewels. "Behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit."—*Jewels of the Deep, Putnam's Magazine for March.*

HOW FARADAY CHOSE POVERTY.

IN a recent lecture at the Royal Institution, in London, Professor Tyndall gave some interesting facts respecting the late Professor Faraday. At one period of his life, the question was brought before Faraday whether he should choose wealth or science, and he determined to reject the seductions of riches, and to devote himself to science, with its comparative poverty. After the discovery of a magneto-electricity, numerous offers were made to him, by which he might have acquired a large fortune. In 1832–33, he did gain, from the direction of his professional knowledge, commercially, upwards of £1,000 per annum; and Professor Tyndall said that he might readily have made £5,000 a year, but Faraday afterwards confined his attention almost exclusively to scientific investigations, his income from commercial applications being limited to such small sums as £25 or £100 per annum. During the last ten years of his life, he received nothing from that source, and though he might have acquired a fortune of £150,000, he died a poor man.

In 1835, Sir Robert Peel proposed to grant him a pension, and the offer was renewed by Lord Melbourne, who sent for Faraday, to speak to him about it, but not being accustomed to deal with so unsophisticated a person, who paid little regard to money, Lord Melbourne made some remark which gave offence to Faraday, who withdrew. A lady, who was a mutual friend of the minister and of the philosopher, endeavored to reconcile them, but Faraday told her that he would only consent to see Lord Melbourne again on one condition, with which he could not expect him to comply, and that was, that he should make an apology. In a few days, however, the apology came.

Faraday entertained the notion that there was Irish blood in his veins, and, as Professor Tyndall observed, there was an enthusiasm about him which appeared to countenance such an opinion, but in other qualities he was not Irish. One of these was his love of order. All the experiments he made in the laboratory of the Royal Institution were numbered, and they were often referred to in succeeding experiments; he also kept a private record of his experiments, the last one being numbered 16,541.

Professor Tyndall concluded by giving an affecting account of Faraday during his illness, and read two letters which he had written, in one of which, dated in the Autumn of 1865, he alluded to his loss of memory, and of not being able to recollect at the end of one line what he had written in the line before.

THE JASMINE.

Among the dark leaves of the Jasmine gleam
Fair little star-like flowers;
As thro' the Summer day their white rays stream
Into our garden bowers.

The old man seated by his cottage door,
Dreaming of vanished things,
Is carried back into his youth once more
Upon thy breath's sweet wings.

Through the dim lattice of the sick man's room,
At times unseen thou'lt stray,
And with the medicine of thy sweet perfume
Awhile his pains allay.

Thy presence cheers the wanderer's weary way
Through Summer's dust and heat;
Thou fill'st the purpose of thy life each day
With service kind and sweet.

AARON BURR AND HIS DAUGHTER.

NOT many fathers and daughters have been fonder or faster friends than Aaron and Theodosia Burr. The character and memory of Burr, in the popular imagination, have been blackened beyond the hope of bleaching. Of course, he was a man mixed of good and bad, and was not such an unmitigated devil as some would paint him. But his selfishness, sensuality, recklessness and degradation give, in one respect, a peculiar interest and instructiveness to the enthusiastic friendship subsisting between him and his daughter. It is no disproof of the need of the great virtues to serve as the basis of a true and enduring friendship. It proves that a sincere love, even in an unclean and depraved soul, purges it, and adorns it with meritorious charms and real worth in that relation. However bad Burr may have been in other relations, to his daughter he was ever good, gentle, and wise, unwearied in his devotion, and clothed with many fascinations. Good persons may sometimes be ill-consorted and odious to each other—their intercourse full of jars and frictions. Bad persons may sometimes be so related as to show each other only their good qualities, and be happy friends, while all around are detesting them.

In one of her letters to her father, Theodosia speaks of his wonderful fortitude, and goes on to say, "Often, after reflecting on this subject, you appear to me so elevated above all other men; I contemplate you with such a strange mixture of humility, admiration, reverence, love and pride, that very little superstition would be necessary to make me worship you as a superior being; such enthusiasm does your character excite in me. When I afterward revert to myself, how insignificant do my best qualities appear! My vanity would be greater, if I had not been placed so near you; and yet my pride is in our relationship. I had rather not live than not be the daughter of such a man." Burr, on the evening before his duel with Hamilton, wrote to his daughter a long letter, in which he said, "I am indebted to you, my dearest Theodosia, for a great portion of the happiness which I have enjoyed in this life. You have completely satisfied all that my heart and affections had hoped, or even wished." Unhappily he slew his antagonist, and himself survived to carry a load of deadly and universal obloquy which would have crushed to the earth almost any other man.

Theodosia set sail from Charleston in a little vessel, which was never heard of again. It was supposed to have foundered off Cape Hatteras. The loss of his daughter, Burr said, "severed him from the human race." Certainly, from that time to the end of his prolonged and dishonored life, he never was wholly what he had been before. An inner spring had been broken, and the purest contents of his heart had escaped through the breach. Parton very fitly dedicates to the memory of Theodosia his highly readable and charitable life of her father. That brilliant lawyer, the late Rufus Choate, remarked, on reading this life, that there did not seem to have been in Burr a single glimpse of so much as the last and poorest tribute vice pays to virtue, not even the affectation of a noble sentiment. But we may claim with justice that the friendship with his daughter is one bright place in that frightfully stained, one golden gleam on that dismally mutilated career.—*Alger's Friendships of Women.*

HUMANITY THE ROOF OF MAN.

Why do the tiles themselves form so secure
A covering to the roof? Is't not because
Each one nestles so closely to the rest,
And streams of rain glide off as from a shield!
But if man e'er so little parts from man,
How shall humanity securely dwell?
That is their shield, that is their house and roof,
Their host, their guest, their very One in all.

—*Layman's Breviary.*

"BLESSED influence of one true loving human soul on another!" beautifully remarks a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine.* "Not calculable by algebra, not deducible by logic, but mysterious, effectual, mighty as the hidden process by which the tiny seed is quickened, and bursts forth into tall stem and broad leaf, and glowing tasselled flower. Ideas are often poor ghosts; our sun-filled eyes cannot discern them; they pass athwart us in thin vapor, and cannot make themselves felt. But sometimes they are made flesh; they breathe upon us with warm breath; they touch us with soft, responsive hands; they look at us with sad, sincere eyes, and speak to us in appealing tones; they are clothed in a living human soul, with all its conflicts, its faith, and its love. Then their presence is a power, then they shake us like a passion, and we are drawn after them with gentle compulsion, as flame is drawn to flame."

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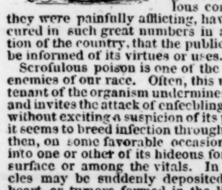
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